





**VOL. I**

**1**



# THE HOUSE OF AIRLIE

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JAMES, SECOND EARL OF AIRLIE.  
(From portrait at Airlie Castle, by G. Dobson.)

# THE HOUSE OF AIRLIE

BY

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VOL. I

WITH PORTRAITS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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## PREFACE

Two very striking allusions to the House of Airlie have been put on record bearing ample testimony to at least two of its illustrious members who shine conspicuously in this history. The first in order of time is a statement in the Patent of a Baronetcy, conferred by Charles II. and dated 3rd May, 1661, in favour of George Ogilvy of Barras; in which it is recorded :

“This person is descended of the honourable family of Airlie, who, with his son, Lord Ogilvy, have at all times evidenced themselves faithful subjects to his Majesty, by which and his Majesty’s action they will live for ever in future chronicles.”

The second has been recorded by Ochterlony in his “Account of the Shyre of Forfar,” published in 1684, in which he wrote :

“The family is very ancient and honourabill, and have ever been very famous for their loyaltie, especiallie in the tyme of our Civill Warrs. The late and present Earls of Airlie, with his brethren, Sir Thomas who died in his Prince’s Service, and Sir David now living, have, with divers others of their name, given such evident testimonie of their loyaltie to their Prince that will make them famous to all succeeding generations, which doubtless you will get account of, to be recorded to their everlasting honour.”

The marvel is that nearly two and a half centuries should be allowed to pass before the public should “get account of” those heroic deeds of loyalty which so strikingly impressed the age that witnessed them. While it is true that frequent allusions are made in historical works to several members of the family, these are, for the most part, only sidelights of their character and worth, serving the purpose chiefly of illustrating the actions of others or reflecting the spirit of the movements with which they

were identified; but no connected narrative of an independent nature and from authentic sources has hitherto been given to the public in which a full-length portrait of at least the more prominent members was essayed.

Every reader of history knows that the Ogilvys of Airlie "have ever been very famous for their loyalty to their Prince, especiallie in the tyme of our Civill Warrs," that they were out in the '15 and the '45, and that since then, from the Crimea to the great battle of the nations in France and Flanders in which they were all engaged, they have acted in heroic loyalty to their King and country; but little or nothing is known of the character of the men who so strenuously fought in support of their ideal. So far as the genealogy of the family is concerned, the several publications of the Peerage of Scotland, and especially the Scots Peerage, give an accurate account of the generations of the House of Airlie; but the natural limits of works such as these forbid anything in the nature of even a succinct delineation of the character of its several members—more importance being attached to the genealogical than to the historical side of their career. Consequently, beyond the bare mention of names and dates, occasionally adventuring a few cold facts of the historical setting, they do not attempt to traverse the moral and intellectual domain of life, or seek to pursue their subjects throughout the field of action, or into the secret cloisters of domesticity. In view of these facts and with the knowledge that so many members of the family have at various times played a most important part in the history of the nation, the author has considered it desirable to present a picture of the men who were "very famous" in their own day, in the belief that what is here "recorded" will be "to their everlasting honour"; at the same time indulging the hope that while thus advertising their heroic virtues and tenacity of purpose, he may contribute to the pleasure and, it may be, the edification of the public mind.

It may, however, be said of this history as has been

remarked of that estimable work, "Plutarch's Lives," that while some of the characters portrayed are drawn life-size, others are little more than busts. To a certain extent this is true, and, as the expert historian will understand, unavoidable. For one thing, as will be seen by a perusal of the following pages, the times varied greatly in the nature of their activities. There were seasons when "with arms outstretched" the call was made for strenuous effort and loyal enterprise; and there were times of quietude and repose when passive obedience was the policy of the subject. The men, too, as may be expected in a family history that covers almost a thousand years, were not all of the same calibre. As in the human family, there were "diversities of gifts." While there were many strong men of great capacity, of daring courage, of statesmanlike boldness and outlook, who figured largely in the nation's life, mediocrity has also its representatives, who, either through lack of ability or opportunity, played but a small part in the political life of the country; yet, although there is this disparity of talent or achievement, it will be recognised that "the same spirit" dominates the whole family—that of an unflinching loyalty to King and country.

For convenience the work is divided into three parts, synchronising with three distinct chapters of the family fortunes. The first, as may be expected, starting at the fountain-head, traces the Ogilvy line through more than two centuries until it breaks off into the two historical branches of Airlie and Inverquhar. The second, beginning with the ancestor of the Airlie Ogilvys, pursues their history till the burning of Airlie Castle. The third is identified with Cortachy, which then became, and has remained ever since, the chief seat of the Earls of Airlie. The three parts are of diversified historical interest. The chapter embraced under Auchterhouse deals with a period more or less obscure, yet it does not lack the embroideries of history to set it in relief. Material begins to accumulate in the Airlie period, but,

through the loss of the family papers at the burning of Airlie Castle in 1640, resort had to be made to other quarters, where a diligent research yielded a fairly good harvest which helped to adorn the narrative with something like historical importance. The growing interest in the family fortunes reaches the full flood of attractiveness in the Cortachy chapter, and attains the summit of the family greatness in the first and second Earls, whose history alone is ample apology for intruding this volume on the public attention. Here not only are events recorded, but their causes and effects explained; the characters of the actors are fully displayed; the manners of the age described; the revolutions in the Constitution pointed out; in short, the history of the country may be read. In like manner, the attitude of the House of Airlie to such great national movements as the insurrections of the '15 and the '45 is dealt with; and here it may be remarked that so loyal were the Ogilvys to their ideal, and so regardless of consequences in defence of it, that no fewer than three attainders stud the pages of their history, while the excommunications were numerous.

The House of Airlie, a title which is comprehensive enough of the subject-matter of this volume, might well be given the sub-title of "A Chapter of Family Loyalty," since if there is one feature which distinguishes the family above all others, it is that of their loyalty to the Sovereign and to what they conceived to be best for the welfare of Church and State.

While, of course, the chief source of information has been the Cortachy Inventory and the Airlie Manuscripts, unrestricted perusal of which the Earl of Airlie so generously granted, the other sources whence the great array of facts embodied in the following pages were derived are voluminous; but to avoid clogging the text with frequent references which the general reader might neither have the will nor the opportunity to consult, it has been thought preferable to give a list of these, which will be found in the page of bibliography.

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It only remains to take this opportunity of acknowledging the hearty co-operation in the production of this work of Mabell, Dowager-Countess of Airlie, whose unfailing interest, wise counsel, and intimate knowledge of the subject were of such considerable benefit to the author as to entitle her to the fullest recognition.

THE MANSE OF AIRLIE,  
1st *January*, 1924.



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# PART I

## AUCHTERHOUSE



## AUCHTERHOUSE

OF almost all ancient families it may be said, as it has been said of the illustrious House of Douglas, "We do not know them in the fountain but in the stream, not in the root but in the stem; for we know not who was the first mean man that did raise himself above the vulgar." In the case of the Ogilvy family, however, there is a more confident outlook, since it is possible to trace its stream backwards till it vanishes in the mists and shadows of a period anterior to recorded history, for, although the first to bear the surname of Ogilvy was contemporaneous with the time when William "the Lion" was King, he was then the descendant of an ancient and noble house whose ancestry may be traced back to the days of Kenneth Macalpine, King of Scots, who, obtaining a complete victory over the Picts, united under one monarchy all the country from the wall of Adrian to the North Sea, and gave to it the name of Scotland. Although thick darkness broods over this period of the country's history, and the ninth and tenth centuries, containing as they did events of vast political importance, are practically shrouded in the blackness of night, leaving in the absence of information much to conjecture, yet thin streaks of light were suffered to pierce the gloom, and in a way to provide a measure of direction to the social and political factors of the situation. This, it may be said, is only the light of tradition; but in such circumstances legendary lore is not to be altogether despised. The Latin proverb *Ubi mel, ibi apes* (Where honey is, there are bees) suggests that the floating memories transmitted from one generation to another had a correspondence with facts that actually transpired, and were in a manner descriptive of a situation and a condition of things that had existence. These chronicled traditions, too, it must be

admitted, may have been embellished with all the embroideries of fancy, and no doubt fiction may be largely intermixed with truth; still, there must have been a substratum of fact which gave rise to them and kept them alive.

“ Even truth herself, if clouded with a frown,  
Must have some solemn proof to pass her down.”

However, notwithstanding the admitted obscurity which pervades the history of this period, the fact emerges with comparative authenticity that Kenneth, on subduing the Picts, took possession of their country and divided the central portion of the conquered territory between his two brothers, Aengus and Moerne, and from them the two counties acquired, and still bear, their old and popular names of Angus and Mearns. It is also recorded as an historical fact worthy of credence that during the reign of Constantine II. the kingdom was divided into seven provinces, each having a Mormaer, or Great Chief, or Steward, who held a position in the scale of power and dignity inferior only to the supreme power of the Sovereign. The object of such appointments was the laudable and necessary one of bringing order out of chaos, as for centuries Celtic Scotland was composed of wild and lawless tribes whose Chiefs from time immemorial were occupied mainly in the science of war; while the pleasures of the chase were their chief amusements. The common people, then in a state of vassalage, were, first, soldiers in attendance on their Chief, and husbandmen after a primitive fashion in odd times of quiet and repose. Ferocity was the natural outflow of such a life both to the superior and subordinate, and barbarism the normal condition of all grades of society. Much, of course, would depend on the character of the Chief being rude or gentle, but the predatory habits of the people, especially the wild caterans of the mountainous districts whose marauding bands made frequent inroads into the localities lying contiguous to the Grampians, had a bad effect upon the inhabitants exposed to their incursions; thus, not only retarding the progress of peaceful in-

dustry, which at best was of the meagrest description, but perpetuating a state of restlessness, suspicion, hatred, and inveterate rancour. The inauguration of provincial government with a Great Chief in the seat of authority and invested with full powers was a step in the direction of law and order which paved the way for a higher civilisation that fortunately was soon to dawn over a distracted and desolate country. Like the Norwegian Iarls, the Mormaers were regarded as the hereditary rulers of the territory with which they were connected; whose functions were to protect the right of the Crown within its bounds, to maintain order, and to dispense justice. They were selected on the ground of their influence and power in their particular province, and were all men of the highest rank, whose territorial possessions and personal interest and worth commanded respect and obedience. Of the seven Mormaers who were thus appointed to exercise lordship over the designated provinces, the one which has a direct bearing on this history is that of the Pictish ruler of Angus, from whose stock the family of Ogilvy is descended. By the first glimmer of light which falls athwart this hazy period of our early history the dim form of Dubucan, the son of Indrechtaig, may be seen, and it is to be noted that he had already "raised himself above the vulgar," being ruler of that district of country which lies between the Tay and the Northern Esk where it bordered on the marches of the province of Mar. His appointment to the Mormaerate suggests that he was at the time the most prominent personage in the province. He was certainly a great territorialist and a magnate of his day. The lands in possession of the family were very extensive and in many districts of the county, from the upper reaches of Glenisla to the gates of the burgh of Dundee. It is generally believed that while he had several residences, the chief seat of the Mormaer was in the parish of Mains, and was known as Strathdychten-Comitis, or Earl-Strathdichty; but the castle has long since disappeared, the exact site of it being unknown. No date has been assigned to the inauguration of Dubucan's rule, and nothing is known of his adminis-

tration. The man and his character are, like the period in which he lived, shrouded in mist and darkness; but he was deemed of sufficient importance to secure commemoration in the annals of his day, while his death in the year 939 was recorded with regret and lamentation. The immediate successor of Dubucan in the hereditary office was his son, Maelbrigdi, who ruled over the country for the space of thirty years and died about 969. He was succeeded by his son Conquhare, or Cunchar, though Father Innes calls him Cunechat. Associated with his administration, a sorrowful domestic tragedy falls to be recorded which had a painful effect upon the family fortunes and for a time disturbed the succession. He had one child, a daughter named Finella, who was married to the neighbouring Mormaer of the Mearns. In course of time, when Conquhare was feeling the weight of years, he had expressed the intention of transmitting his rights to his daughter, who in her turn hoped to bequeath them to her son, Crathilinthus. The son, however, in his haste to be rich and powerful, according to popular tradition, murdered his grandfather, the Mormaer of Angus, in cold blood in the year 994. But, as the Scripture says, "They that desire to be rich fall into a temptation and a snare, and many foolish and hurtful lusts, such as drown men in destruction and perdition." Nemesis overtook the unscrupulous and ambitious youth in his covetous eagerness to fill the place of honour and grasp the reins of power; and judgment followed hard upon the heels of pride. By command of the King, Kenneth I., Crathilinthus was arrested, taken to Dunsinnan, the scene of many tragedies, where he was tried, condemned, and executed.

The sequel was still more appalling in its character and consequences. Finella was a woman of spirit, haughty and vindictive, strong-minded and resolute of purpose, who, deeply resenting the outrage committed upon her son, nourished her wrath and swore a solemn oath that she would wreak her vengeance upon the perpetrators of what she considered a crime. As it happened, while her fury was still at its height and she was

consumed by an unquenchable passion for revenge, the King set out on a tour of the provinces; it being customary for him and his Court to traverse the country annually for the due administration of justice, and to hear the reports of the Mormaers. On such visits His Majesty was in the habit of availing himself of the hospitality of the Great Chiefs in the districts through which he passed. It is generally supposed that Kenneth had taken up residence in Finella's castle at Fettercairn on the occasion; and the story runs that while out hunting in the neighbourhood near the foothills of the Grampians, the infuriated mother, to revenge the death of her son, treacherously assassinated the King, stabbing him to the heart. After the murder, she is said to have fled across country in the direction of the coast, pursued by the royal attendants. Overtaking her at St. Cyrus, close to a little ravine whose water falls from a height of about one hundred and fifty feet into a deep abyss, and seeing no chance of escape—

“She leapt from the rocks into a wild boiling pool,  
Where her body was torn and tossed.”

The result of this regicidal act was that the Angus lands inherited by Finella were annexed to the Crown, but of the effect on the Mormaerate nothing has been recorded. There is at this juncture a hiatus in the line of the descent. But it is quite evident that the male line of the ancient rulers of the province was unaffected by this forfeiture, since Gilchrist, who is generally accepted as the representative of the Angus family and, according to Chalmers, descended from the old stock, appears in the reign of Malcolm III., “Caenmor,” as Mormaer of Angus. For some time it had become the custom for the provincial rulers either to assume or to be given the title of Comes, or Earl, and Gilchrist frequently appears as Earl of Angus. In his description of Angus, Edward states :

“Gilchrist, Earl of Angus, of which he was a native, in the year 1124, with two other nobles, led an army into England, and putting the English to flight at Allerton, he carried the

Duke of Gloucester, General of the English forces, and other noblemen, prisoners into Scotland."

This designation, however, may have arisen chiefly from the fact that the Mormaers were so denominated by the Norwegians, and also that the said title had come into vogue in England. Be this as it may, it was in common use at this period if it had not the sanction and authority of the Sovereign. Although the assertion has been called in question, it is said that "King Malcolm Caenmor in a Parliament held at Forfar in 1061, created several Earls and Barons; among whom was the Earl of Angus." The creation of Barons may be doubtful, as their introduction is known to be of a later date; but of the Earls it cannot be so positively refuted, since early in the reign of Alexander I., son of Malcolm, they appear in the charters of authentic history; and it is on record that Gilchrist was one of the seven Earls who gave their formal consent to the charter of that Sovereign and his Queen Sybella, for the foundation of the Monastery of Scone about 1144. He is said to have married Finella, a sister of the Thane of the Mearns, and had a son, Gillebride (the gille, or servant of Bridget), who succeeded him.

Whatever doubt may encircle the claim of Gilchrist to the title of Earl, there can be none in this respect of his son, David I., usually called "Saint," who inaugurated the policy of feudalising the kingdom, extended this policy to the great Celtic Chiefs of the country, and henceforth the old title of Mormaer, probably official in its origin, was merged in a personal dignity, bearing the Saxon designation of Earl. A feudal investiture of the earldom of Angus was conferred on Gillebride, and he invariably appears as Earl of Angus in Charters and other public documents from the year 1150 to 1187. The first notice of him is as "Ghillebrite," a witness to a Charter by King David I. At a later date, in the reign of Malcolm "the Maiden," he subscribed himself "Gilbryd, Comes De Angus." In his early manhood he displayed high soldierly qualities, and when David I., on the death of Henry I., invaded England at the head of

a large army for the purpose of supporting the claim of his niece, Matilda, Empress of Germany, to the English throne, Gillebride was in command of the Scottish forces, and fought with great valour at the Battle of the Standard on 22nd August, 1138. If, in the end, victory did not crown his manful efforts as at Blitherow early in June, the disaster that overtook the expedition was largely on account of the mixed character of the tribes which composed the army of the King of Scots, but chiefly through the success of a *ruse de guerre* that broke the fighting spirit of the men of Angus and Moray. At a critical moment when the English army was on the point of yielding to the onslaught, it is reported that a southern soldier, acting on a sudden inspiration, cut off the head of one of the slain, and, raising it aloft on the point of his spear, cried, "The head of the King of Scots." The effect was instantaneous; it reanimated the English, while it spread consternation throughout the Scottish army. The men of Galloway and the Lothians broke and fled without show of resistance. Gillebride, bringing up the reserve to support the infantry, made a valiant attempt to rally the forces, but in vain. The day was irretrievably lost. Exposed on either flank, retreat was absolutely necessary, and the only hope was to check the pursuit. At length, after a stubborn resistance, with the nobles who attended on the person of the Sovereign, Gillebride made good his escape and reached Carlisle with the remains of his army.

The Earl of Angus, however, had a different stroke of fortune when he next adventured the field of battle. On this occasion he was in sole command, and his genius in warfare had free play. On the death of David I., his grandson, Malcolm, then in his twelfth year, ascended the throne, and was crowned at Scone in the year 1153. The succession was viewed with dislike by the entire Celtic population of the country, who regarded it as an infringement upon the tanistic law; and there speedily occurred, as David had foreseen, an open revolt of the Gaelic districts against the rule of the youthful Sovereign. One Wimund, commonly called Malcolm McHeth,

claimed the earldom of Moray, and to strengthen his cause raised an insurrection in the Northern Counties, but, discovered to be an impostor, was detained a captive in the Castle of Roxburgh. He had married a daughter of Somerled, Thane of Argyll, who, to avenge the supposed wrongs of his son-in-law, but actually to oppose the youthful monarch, joined forces with his nephew and invaded the country of the Scots on 5th November, 1153. Gillebride, Earl of Angus, now one of the chief men in the kingdom and in high favour at Court, was ordered to raise a sufficient army and proceed against him. Little is known of this campaign beyond the fact that the Thane of Argyll and his Gaelic hosts were driven across the Grampians into their own territory of the Western Isles, and for the time being were subjugated.

There now falls to be recorded a very tragic incident, deplorable as it was unnatural, which, while it gives a more sombre colouring to the story of the Earl of Angus, leads to romantic happenings whose effect is to introduce a new element into this history, and to bring upon the scene with all the glamour of romance a person whose descendants, as this narrative will show, have played a conspicuous part in the history of the nation. It may be said, of course, that the story depends mainly on tradition; but remembering that "where honey is, there are bees," the facts about to be related may have had some ground of truth to commend them. With the exception that the name of Gilchrist, the son, has been mistaken for that of Gillebride, the father, in some versions of the tradition, the story is to the following effect: The Earl of Angus is reported to have married a daughter of Henry, son of David I., and sister of Malcolm "the Maiden" and William "the Lion." For some reason or other he contracted the idea that his wife had been unfaithful to him, and in a fit of passion he is said to have murdered his royal Countess at the Castle of Mains, near Dundee. It was a heinous crime, all the more repulsive on account of her high station, though the conduct of men ought to be judged according to the notions of their age and the state of civilisation under which they lived.

This is said not in mitigation of the deed but in order to place it in full perspective, and to temper the judgment of a more enlightened regard for the domesticities of life in which our lot is cast. The manners and customs of this Celtic period were rough and lawless, even barbarous; yet, making allowance for this, the only thing that can be said in extenuation of the crime is that it was rashly committed in a fit of jealousy. Summoned to stand trial, and failing to appear, the Earl of Angus was outlawed, stripped of his honours, his castles demolished, and his lands confiscated. To avoid capture, he made his escape into England, where with his sons he lived in exile till he was forced to leave by the passing of an international law between that country and Scotland to the effect that neither of them should harbour an enemy of the other. Returning across the Border, the father and his sons were constrained, for the purpose of concealment, to shift about from place to place, suffering great want and misery. At length their itinerant life brought them to the Glen of Ogilvy, in the heart of the Sidlaws, and near to the fringe of their ancestral territory, where, amid its wilds, they found shelter and hospitality, and, unexpectedly, a stroke of good-fortune. One day, so the story runs, while William "the Lion" was out hunting in the Glen, an old man and his two sons might have been seen "delving up turfes," either to build their hut or to store fuel against the approaching winter. In pursuing the chase the King got separated from his party, and was attacked by a band of banditti who had lain concealed in the dense brushwood of the forest. On seeing the King's danger, though hitherto unobserved, the outlaws rushed forward and charged the freebooters, rescuing him out of their hands. William, eyeing his rescuers for a time, was quick to see that, notwithstanding their rags and wretched condition, they had not the manners of rustics; and he demanded to know who they were. On disclosing their identity and throwing themselves at the feet of His Majesty, imploring forgiveness, he was greatly moved at the spectacle, and, remembering the former splendour in which they had lived, he immediately pardoned them,

restored the aged Earl of Angus to his honours and dignity and his forfeited possessions; giving in addition to his third son, Gilbert, who had been most forward in the rescue, the lands and barony of Ogilvy, consisting of "Powrin-Ogguluin and Kynmethan," a territory which lies in the parish of Glamis and has been long known as the Glen of Ogilvy.

It had become customary in early feudal Scotland for people acquiring property either to "call their lands after their own names," or, in cases where they were derived from the royal bounty and held in chief of the Crown on the feudal tenure of military service, to take their surnames from their lands. Both practices were in vogue, and it would seem to have been largely a matter of taste which course was adopted. The progenitor of the Strathmore family, on receiving a grant of lands from Edgar, in 1097, called them after his own surname—Glen Lyon; while Gilbert, the father of all the Ogilvys, took his surname from the barony, which had been gifted to him by his royal uncle, and is known to history as Gilbert Ogilvy of Ogilvy, holding his lands on the tenure of the service of one Knight. There, nestling in the bosom of the Sidlaw range of hills, was the home of the family of Ogilvy, which has spread in the families of Airlie and Inverquharity over the greater part of Angus, and in the branches of Findlater, Boyne, Banff, and Inchmartine, over a large portion of the counties of Aberdeen, Banff, and Perth.

The name is Pictish, and, like most of the old family and place names in Scotland, its orthography has several variants. The earliest form of it is that used in the original Charter of William "the Lion"—Ogguluin, but there follow at intervals other spellings, such as Ogiluill, Ogyluie, Onegyluy (that used by Cardinal Beaton), Ogiluy, Ogilivy, while towards the sixteenth century—no doubt the result of more intimate commerce with the English language—a foreign *b* crept in, as at that period we find Ougelby, Ogilbe; and then, a century later, the family signature was as it is now—Ogilvy. Two derivations of the name have been given, one of

which is applicable to a family surname, the other to a place-name. The former is said to be derived from "Ogailbuie," which means "a yellow-haired youth"; the latter from "Ogle"—wood—and "Vy" or "Vie," a corrupt form of "buie," which means "yellow." As Ogilvy, however, was a place-name before it was adopted as a family surname, it is quite apparent that, being descriptive of a particular territory, the latter is, in view of the circumstances, by far the more acceptable as applying to the land of which it is descriptive; it may be interpreted as "the Glen of Yellow Wood."

As most of the Charters of William "the Lion" are undated, it is impossible to give the exact date when Gilbert, son of Gillebride, Earl of Angus, took the surname of Ogilvy and set out to create a family of the name. It is generally believed, however, to have been in or near the year 1172, when the Charter for the lands of "Ogguluin" was granted and executed at Montrose. There are two transsumpts of it in existence—one of the date 14th February, 1577, in the Fotheringham Charter Chest; the other, dated 26th July, 1631, in the possession of the proprietors of Birkhill, which purports to be "under the hands of Sir I. Hamilton of St. Magdalen's, Clerk Register," and declares that it was "werray auld, warne and consumit and skantlie may be weill red." The deed shows that the barony of Ogilvy was granted to Gilbert in the lifetime of Gillebride, his father, since he is described as "Gilbert, son of the Earl of Angus." These lands, together with Easter Powrie, which he subsequently inherited, passed down from him in an unbroken male descent for a period of nearly five hundred years, and this family, frequently called "Powrie Ogilvy," formed during this time the original stock—the Ogilvys of that ilk.

As the barony of Ogilvy was held for the service of one Knight, it may be taken as certain that, on the appointment of the Earl of Angus to the command of the army when William "the Lion" made that fatal expedition into England and invaded Northumberland with disastrous consequences to himself and the independence of

the country, Gilbert Ogilvy, setting an example which his descendants have been prone to follow, was in arms in defence of the royal cause. It is recorded how the King, at the head of a select body of cavaliers and with that rash valour which was characteristic of him, detaching himself from the main army, mistook in a dense mist that hung over the district a large English force for a party of his own stragglers, returning loaded with booty; but on perceiving his error instantly charged the enemy to his own discomfiture, being overpowered, unhorsed, and made prisoner. This was a sorrowful disaster for Scotland, as the sequel will show, while to the Angus family, at least, a temporary incommodation. The Scots, impatient at the absence of the King, purchased his liberty at the expense of the independence of the country; William "the Lion" thus becoming a liegeman of Henry II. for Scotland and all his other territories, while the Earl of Angus and one of his sons, generally believed to be Gilbert Ogilvy, were included among the hostages for the due observance of the Treaty of Falaise.

Of the character, disposition, and temperament of the ancestor of all the Ogilvys, as may be expected from the vague records of this period of our history in which through the dimness of our view we can, for the most part, only "see men as trees walking," practically nothing is known. He is a figure moving through the haze of distance, imperfectly seen in the dim light of antiquity. We should have liked to make more intimate acquaintance with him, to have been able to delineate his character, to have exhibited his qualities of mind and heart, and to have advertised those virtues which have passed down in rich abundance to his posterity, since history is best studied in biography. It is always persons we see more than principles, while historical events are interesting to us mainly in connection with the feelings, the actions, the attitude, and the ideal of those by whom they are accomplished. But while the personal and domestic virtues of Gilbert Ogilvy are shrouded in darkness, there is good reason to know that his soldierly address was of a high order; that he was brave and

courageous in battle and a leader in the fight; and that he enjoyed the confidence and had the favour of the Sovereign in whose punitive expeditions to Galloway and Caithness he held a prominent command. The likelihood is that he received the order of knighthood as he held the lands of Ogilvy, according to the terms of the Charter, "for the service of one Knight," and because it was customary at this time, owing to warriors going into battle clad in complete armour which covered them from top to toe, to confer such marks of distinction as should discover their identity to their immediate followers; thus occasioning what came to be known as "armorial bearings." The only other matter that has been recorded of him is that he was a witness to a benefaction by his brother, Gilchrist, then Earl of Angus, between the years 1201 and 1204, by which he gave the Church of Monyfode (Monifieth) to the Abbey of Aberbrothock. Sir Gilbert Ogilvy's home-life, however, is wrapt in oblivion; not even the name or surname of his wife have been suffered to appear. The men of those days were too busy fighting to have either thought or time to register their domestic affairs. Only one member of his family has survived the ravages of that strenuous age, the son who succeeded on the death of his father—Alexander De Ogiluill; and although authentic history may be said to begin with the reign of Alexander III., under which he lived, even less is known of him than of his father, Gilbert. Beyond the bare mention of the fact that he appeared at an inquest, which met at Forfar on 17th January, 1250, to determine as to the suit due to the Abbot of Arbroath for the lands of Innerpeffray, little else is known of him. It seems that he had not the robust, aggressive nature of his sire, nor had he his ardent passion for military conquest. It is true that in his early years, during the reign of Alexander II., beyond occasional punitive measures for quelling disturbances in the provinces, there was not the same resort to the arbitrament of the sword as in William "the Lion's" time, since Richard Cœur de Lion, on his accession to the English throne, had generously restored to that monarch the independence of Scotland, while

through the matrimonial alliance of his son with the Royal Family of England, there was a more friendly intercourse between the two nations. But apart from this, Sir Alexander Ogilvy was of a retiring disposition, being neither physically strong nor of that aggressive type of mind which forces its way into the centre of the field of action. In the politics of his time he adopted a passive attitude, and lived a quiet and pastoral life at the Castle of Ogilvy, where he died about 1265.

In a Charter dated 1267, Sir Patrick Ogilvy is described as the son of Sir Alexander Ogilvy of Ogilvy, the occasion being that he acted in the capacity of witness to a deed of mortification by Roger De Quiney, Earl of Winchester, conveying the Church of Losrech (Lathrisk) and the Chapel of Katel (Kettle) to the Priory of St. Andrews for the souls of his wife and himself. He was a man of stronger fibre than his father, and took an active part in public affairs. Like the stock, too, from which he had sprung, he was a soldier who dearly loved the clash of arms and the excitement of battle. During his father's lifetime, and in the hilarity and buoyancy of vigorous manhood, he followed the fortunes of Alexander III., and saw active service when that King, pursuing the policy of his father, launched forth his challenge to the King of Norway to dispute with him the rightful sovereignty of the Hebrides. Since the time Magnus "Barefoot" wrested the islands of the western seaboard from the Scottish Crown, these strategic outposts, with a large part of Argyleshire from the Firth of Clyde to Loch Broom, had maintained a semi-independence under the King of Norway. In the reign of Alexander II., the northern region of Argyle, consisting chiefly of the possessions of the ancient Monastery of Applecross, had been brought under the dominion and rule of Scotland, so that there remained to complete the amalgamation of the different outlying provinces occupied by a Celtic population, the possession of the Western Isles. Having in vain attempted to obtain them by treaty, while the proposal to purchase them was refused, the King determined to secure them by force; and for this purpose he

collected a large army to subdue the islands and bring them under his dominion. It is known how the prosecution of this enterprise was arrested by his death. Alexander III., however, in 1263, on attaining the age of twenty-one, announced his intention of subduing the Hebrides, and as this policy lay close to the heart of the Scottish people, there flocked to his standard the flower of chivalry—the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem and the Knights Templars, of which body Sir Patrick Ogilvy was a conspicuous member. The royal army marched west and encamped at Ayr, the leaders shrewdly anticipating that the Norwegians would strike the mainland somewhere along the Ayrshire coast, which, as a matter of fact, they did, landing at Largs, having first secured their rear by the capture of the island of Bute. The King of Scots moved out to meet the invaders, but, instead of a pitched battle, adopted guerilla warfare on the set purpose of delaying a deliberate attack in force. It was early in September, and the King of Norway having secured the Firth of Clyde by a fleet of one hundred and sixty vessels, it was considered advisable by the Scots to await the autumnal equinox, which along the western seaboard was generally adverse to shipping and occasionally disastrous. The “four borrowing days” that year were all that the Scottish army could have wished. A tempest arose, which, deepening into a hurricane, shattered and dissipated the fleet, so that, being deprived of naval support, the Scots opened a general charge on the enemy, utterly routing the Norwegians, who left twenty thousand dead upon the field.

Sir Patrick Ogilvy, who had distinguished himself in action, was appointed, with other valiant Knights, under the command of the Earls of Buchan and Mar, to conduct a punitive expedition to the Western Isles, now at the mercy of Alexander III. As might be expected in that rough age, little clemency was shown to the inhabitants of the Sudreys, of whom it is recorded :

“They slew those traitors who had the year before encouraged the King of Norway to go to war with Scotland. Some of them they put to flight, and, having hanged some of

the Chiefs, they brought with them thence exceeding great plunder."

A different experience fell athwart the path of such loyal patriots as Sir Patrick Ogilvy of that ilk, who, like many other brave Knights of Chivalry, was compelled to submit to a course which in his heart he loathed, but was helpless to resist. But as the history of the Celtic dynasty is not particularly familiar to the average citizen, it may be advisable to state a few facts relative to the situation in justification, or, at least, in extenuation of his conduct. The tragic death of Alexander III., on 19th March, 1286, in the prime of his manhood, all his children having predeceased him, was a calamitous blow to Scotland. The heir to the throne was his granddaughter Margaret, "the Maid of Norway," then in her fifth year. A regency thus became necessary and, in the absence of any great outstanding noble of commanding genius, by general consent, a College of Guardians was appointed to the number of six. Always at war with each other, it could hardly be expected that such a collection of minds, so diverse in character and outlook, could see eye to eye on all points of domestic politics, and as little likely to subordinate the personal interest to the general good. Dissensions naturally arose among them; bickering and strife succeeded in such measure and to such extent that the country from the North Sea to the Solway was a seed-bed of plot and counterplot. If the nation was thus torn by faction during this brief regency, when the intelligence reached the centre of the country at Scone that "the Maid of Norway," on her passage from the land of her birth to take possession of her kingdom, had died at Orkney, thus terminating the last native dynasty of Scottish Sovereigns of Celtic descent in the male line, there was at first great consternation, speedily followed by a state of feeling approaching anarchy; for not only did wild and heated passion break loose and find vent for its turbulent ebullition of factious temper, but the country became a prize to be contested for by the English Sovereign on the one hand, who asserted his right as Lord Paramount, and, on the other

hand, by a host of Norman Barons who claimed the Crown on account of their descent through the female line of the Celtic Kings.

Edward I., who from the beginning of his reign had cast longing eyes on the kingdom of the Scots, saw his opportunity, on the recognition of "the Maid of Norway" as heir to the throne, of uniting the Crowns by negotiating a marriage between the young Queen and his son, Prince Edward. The death of Margaret, however, upset all his designs. Instead he was faced with a plethora of candidates who, under various titles, laid claim to the throne. It is unnecessary here to mention or discuss these at large, as in the end two of them were recognised as of undoubted validity—Robert de Brus, Earl of Carrick and Lord of Annandale, whose romantic marriage with the Countess of Annandale had brought down the displeasure of the late King : he was descended from Isabella, second daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, the youngest brother of William "the Lion"; and John Balliol, Lord of Galloway, who was descended from Margaret, the eldest daughter of the same family, and in justice had the stronger claim.<sup>1</sup> But whereas the latter, residing in England at this critical juncture, depended on his friends secretly watching over his interests; the former, of a bolder spirit, on the news of the young Queen's death, expeditiously appeared at Perth with a formidable retinue to make good his claim. There was in this posture of affairs the prospect of an intestine war, as parties began to form and some of the nobles had assembled their followers to support the claim of their favourite. Sir Patrick Ogilvy took the side of Robert De Brus, and, summoning the Ogilvys, he rallied to his standard, prepared to do combat for the person of his choice, and that the service he proffered was wholehearted may be gathered from the fact that he remained to the last in close friendship with him. But bloodshed was avoided by the nobility, together with the claimants, agreeing to submit the matter of the succession to Edward I. and to abide by his decision.

<sup>1</sup> According to the law of England.

The sequel brought about that national humiliation, and to Sir Patrick Ogilvy that personal mortification, which was at once displeasing to high-souled chivalry as it was disgraceful to patriotic feeling. Balliol, weak, vacillating, and mean-spirited, had negotiated an offensive and defensive alliance with Philippe IV. of France, whose sister, Margaret, was then Queen of England. Edward I. naturally suspected that the designs of the King of Scots were hostile, and he had not long to wait for proof that his suspicion was well founded. The Scots assembled a great army and invaded Cumberland, Sir Patrick Ogilvy with his two sons serving in the cavalry under the command of the Earl of Atholl. Carlisle was assaulted and set on fire, but the women manning the ramparts repulsed the Scots and forced them to an ignominious retreat. Passing on to Northumberland, they laid waste the country till they were held in check at Harbottle Castle. Meanwhile Edward invaded the eastern borders, attacked and took Berwick, putting the garrison to the sword and making an indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants. Moving west he encountered the whole force of Scotland on the ill-fated heights of Dunbar, where the impatient Scots, as in the time of Cromwell upon the same ground, in circumstances not dissimilar, and with a like result, abandoning the advantage of their position, charged down upon the well-disciplined English army, where they were repulsed, broken, and utterly routed; Sir Patrick Ogilvy's second son, Sir Robert, being among the slain. The fate of Balliol and of Scotland was soon decided. Edward, after a triumphal march through the country, held a Parliament at Berwick, on 28th August, 1296, where he received the fealty of the clergy and nobility; and in a Roll, commonly called the "Ragman Roll," containing the names of certain magnates and others who performed homage to Edward, there appears: "D'ns Patricus Oggelvye-de Com de Forfare."

Beyond the fact that he was a member of the Inquisition held at Perth on 1st September, 1305, to examine into the circumstances under which Michael De Miggel

was in company at Auchterhouse with Sir William Wallace, nothing further is known of him. The name of his wife has not emerged, nor have any particulars about his family been recorded save that he had two sons, the elder of whom, Sir Patrick Ogilvy, succeeded. The new Ogilvy of that ilk had already tasted the lust of battle, and had proved his prowess in the field. There was still fighting in front of him, and as his father had rallied to support the elder Bruce in contesting the Crown of Scotland with Balliol, so now that the younger Bruce had actually been crowned at Scone, what more natural than that he should straightway join the Royal Standard? In the lifetime of his father he had acquired the property of Inchmartin in the Carse of Gowrie, and at this period he is generally referred to in the annals of history as "Inchmartin." Unlike the bulk of the nobility and gentry who sat astride the fence to see how the young King would fare against the mighty power of Edward, afraid to risk their lands, and it might be their heads, in a venture that was bold as it was chivalrous, but withal problematical and fraught with great issues, Sir Patrick Ogilvy did not for a moment hesitate to decide on which path his duty lay. The outlook, it is true, was doubtful, the situation precarious, and the consequences in the event of failure ruinous, absolutely and inevitably; yet he did not sit down to review the position circumspectly, nor gravely to "count the cost," or balance the chances of fortune, but with that quick intuition which moralists often confuse with impulse, he darted to the side of Robert the Bruce ready to risk his inheritance as he was to share the perils of what was certain to be a long-drawn, deadly struggle. History has not done full justice, inasmuch as it has not awarded an adequate meed of praise to the band of loyal partisans who thus in the tremulous days of a great venture, with no resources but in their own valour, made the bold attempt to restore the liberties of Scotland. The obstacles in front of the movement were formidable, and to the superstitious mind disquieting; for, apart from contemplating the whole force of England, there was the general inclination of the nobility

to assume a lukewarm attitude, while the revenge of the powerful House of Comyn was in the scale against them ; and, last but not least of all the deterring forces, the fact that their chosen leader bore on him the mark of Cain—the guilt of what was commonly held to be a sacrilegious murder.

But the Ogilvys have always had a penchant for difficult situations. Throughout their history they seem ever to have had the notable characteristic that the hazard of a position held for them its chief attraction. The day of doubt and uncertainty called forth their strength and courage. If the cause appealed to them and was in sympathy with their ideal, what though the road to it be rough and thorny, the hills steep and difficult, and there were deep valleys and broad rivers to cross, these obstacles were all to their liking, and instead of being impediments, restraining forces, added a halo of lustre to the campaign. So Sir Patrick Ogilvy chose to cast in his lot with Robert the Bruce in the day of adversity, and loyally adhered to him through good and bad report ; not even the King's excommunication by bell, book, and candle made him decline from what he conceived to be the line of duty. With him in his defeat at Methven, he followed the fortunes of his wanderings over the hills of Atholl, one of that noble band of two hundred who fought their way through the hostile county of Argyle and had their foretaste of a crowning victory along the coast of Ayr. For three years he fought strenuously by the side of Robert I., as far south as Galloway ; in the heart of Aberdeenshire, driving the English garrisons before them, and he had the satisfaction, even the unspeakable joy, of seeing the forces of the kingdom rallying to the Royal Standard. The King was not unmindful of his loyalty and fidelity, his valour and endurance, as, on reaching Coupar-Angus, where the royal army rested, preparatory for the attack on Perth, he bestowed on Sir Patrick Ogilvy, in 1309, the ancient barony of Kettins in reward for the conspicuous service he had rendered at a time when such support was of incomparable value.

There is nothing on record to show that Sir Patrick

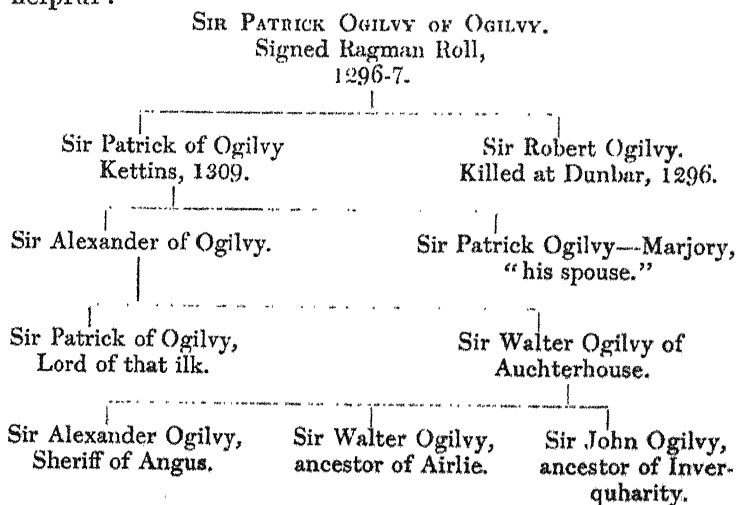
Ogilvy of that ilk took part in the great and decisive battle which achieved Scottish independence; but he was not the man to put "his hand to the plough" and "look back." He was much too good a patriot and too loyal a subject to desert the cause at the moment when the strength of the nation was assembling in heroic effort to vindicate the will of the people. To judge from his after career, when he took an active part in the consolidation of the country, he stood loyally by Robert the Bruce, and, having borne the hardships, shared in the glory of redeeming the liberties of Scotland. In the Legislature, as in the administration of the kingdom generally, he took a keen interest and occupied a prominent place. When Edward I. invaded Scotland in 1296, one of the places that received ruthless treatment was Dundee, which the English completely sacked, all the Charters and records of the town being destroyed. Many of these Charters bore upon certain rights and privileges which former Sovereigns had granted to the community, and when King Robert, in 1314, visited the town, residing within its gates for a brief period and dispensing his royal favour "as dew upon the grass," the burgesses approached him to the effect that these rights and privileges which they had enjoyed might be continued and ratified. In the year 1325, a Royal Commission was appointed, of which Sir Patrick Ogilvy was a member, "to inquire into the privileges possessed by the Burgh of Dundee," and on the strength of its report His Majesty "recognised the liberties of the said Town," confirmed and perpetuated them in terms of the petition of the burgesses.

As in the case of his predecessors, very little is known of the family of Sir Patrick Ogilvy, who was born we know not when, and whose death has not been recorded. All that is known of his family is that he had two sons—Alexander and Patrick; and that the former in due course succeeded. Of Sir Alexander Ogilvy of Ogilvy there is not much of substance to relate. He seems to have taken little or no part in the affairs of State. Beyond the fact that he appears in an Act concerning the burgh of Dundee

at Forfar on 17th July, 1348, and that during the lifetime of his father he was given possession of the barony of Kettins, practically nothing is known of his public life. He died in the prime of life, leaving a widow, who was married to Sir Walter of Lichtoun, and two sons—Sir Patrick Ogilvy of that ilk, who succeeded, and Sir Walter Ogilvy of Auchterhouse.

Up to this point our narrative has been concerned in tracing the original stock of the Ogilvys, for the good reason that hitherto no branch of the family has impressed itself upon the history of the country to such an extent as to deserve notice. Indeed, apart from the main line, the collaterals have disappeared without leaving any trace behind them. The first historical branch of the Ogilvys of that ilk now emerges in Sir Walter Ogilvy, the second son of Sir Alexander Ogilvy of Ogilvy, and as he was the progenitor of a new line, the Auchterhouse branch of the family, from which the Airlie Ogilvys have sprung, it becomes necessary, for the time being at least, to part company with the chief family of the name and concentrate our attention on Sir Walter Ogilvy of Auchterhouse.

The following table, to be extended at a later stage for the purpose of illustrating a different subject, may be helpful :



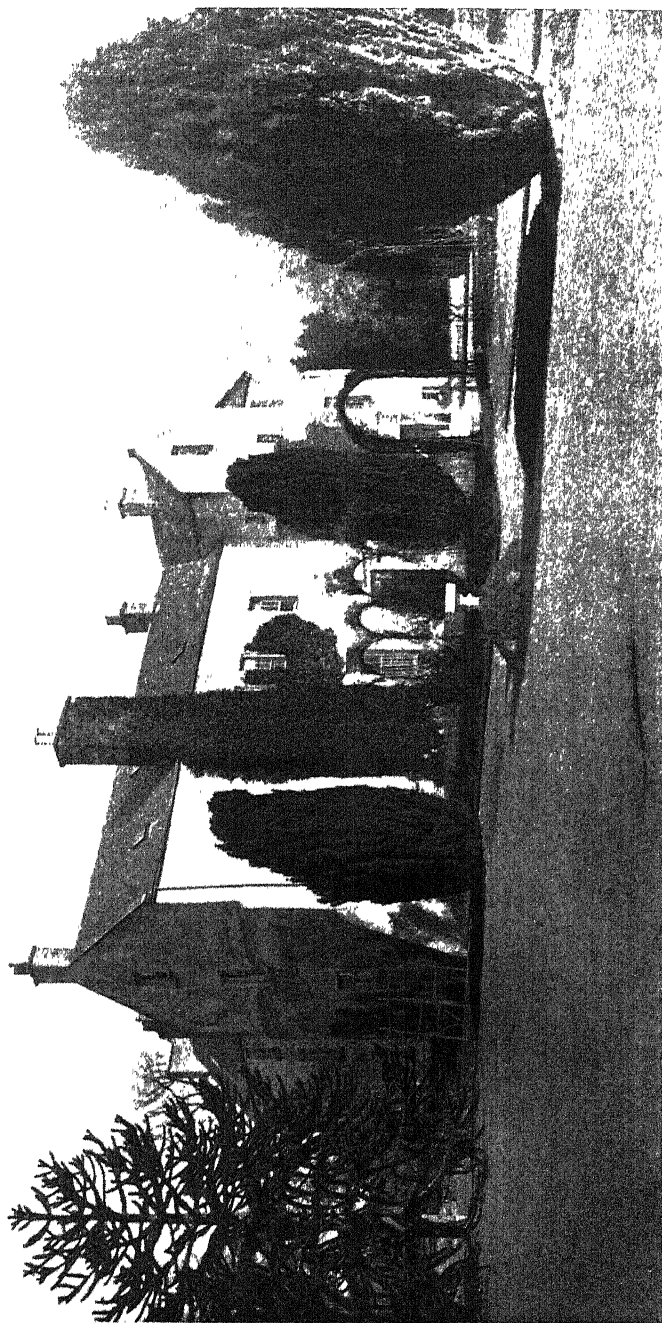
The founder of a family, like the pioneer of any great movement in thought or action, has usually the reputation of genius or force of character to commend him. By virtue of his inherent strength, broad outlook, and bold adventure, together with his commanding personality, which he may be fortunate enough to impress upon his offspring, he succeeds in creating a new departure and giving the stamp of his mind to his posterity. In following the fortunes of such a family, as in studying the principles and characteristics of any definite school of thought in science, philosophy, religion, politics, or social economics, one naturally reverts to the original spring and inspiration of the movement. In the study of anatomy the student cannot help thinking of Vesalius, the first to study the structure of the human body by actual dissection. In like manner the student of metaphysics turns back in thought to Bacon, "the father of Inductive Philosophy," while the youthful mind, hopeful of making acquaintance with the attractive secrets of astronomy, goes back in thought to Galileo and Kepler. So it is in the history of families of note who have distinguished themselves in the annals of their country by those heroic qualities of virtue, valour, loyalty, and statesmanship which are the head and crown of the highest citizenship. There is a natural desire to know them in the root as well as in the stem, and to survey the fountain from which their virtues flow. Sir Walter Ogilvy is the first of his race to stand forth in anything like recognisable outline, and although he does not appear in such historic fulness of portraiture that we can be said to know him as the great men of our later history are known, still, his personal character, the details of his domestic affairs, his public career, his moral and intellectual worth, his courage and loyalty, and his standing and influence among his contemporaries, are sufficiently recorded to show that in his day he was recognised as a great man of conspicuous ability and force of character. Indeed, he is celebrated by Wyntoun as—

"Stout and manfull, bauld and wycht,  
Godlike, wyse, and wertuous."

Great though he was in himself, he had the particular good-fortune to enhance his reputation and to enlarge the scope of his opportunities, and, by no means the least effective instrument of usefulness, to add considerably to his material resources through the matrimonial alliance he was shrewd enough to make. By his marriage with Isabella, the only child and heiress of Sir Malcolm Ramsay of Auchterhouse, he not only came into possession of the lands of Auchterhouse, but inherited the important office of Sheriff of Angus; by virtue of holding which he commanded a position of outstanding influence and power.

Auchterhouse, derived from Achadh Torr, pronounced Ach-tor, "the house with the tower in the field," lies in the south-west corner of the county of Forfar, and basks pleasantly in the sun along the foothills of the Sidlaws. It is generally supposed that in ancient times it was the witness of an historic scene—indeed, was the battleground of the last sanguinary struggle of the Scots and Picts for the ascendancy of power in Scotland. The Manor-house, said to be "the best specimen now in this part of the country of an old baronial residence," is an imposing structure, and stands near the foot of the hill of Auchterhouse, commonly called the White Sheets of Sidlaw. On the margin of the burn which runs through the grounds are the remains of a square building, which goes by the name of Wallace Tower. This ivy-covered ruin, of great age and of solid masonry, its walls being 9 feet in thickness, is generally believed to have formed part of the old castle of the Ramsays of Auchterhouse, and the particular place occupied by Sir William Wallace and the French auxiliaries whom he brought with him from Flanders, when, in 1303, he landed at Montrose. Sir John Ramsay was a particular friend of the Knight of Ellerslie, and on that occasion, as the ballad says, he took the great patriot as his guest to Auchterhouse :

" Good Sir John Ramsay, and the Ruthvens true,  
Barclay and Bisset, with men not a few,  
Do Wallace meet,—all canty, keen and crouse,  
And with three hundred march to ' Ochterhouse.' "



AUCHTERHOUSE.

*Valentine & Sons, Dundee*



The Ramsays are generally believed to have been a branch of the Dalhousie family, the first of whom, Simon de Ramsay, settled in the Lothians during the reign of David I., and their connection with Auchterhouse may, with fair accuracy, be ascertained from the fact that these lands for ages belonged, and indeed were attached, to the office of Sheriff of Angus. This dignified position, it may be said in passing, must not be confused with that of the present-day Chief Officer of the Law Courts of the County; it was rather that of the King's representative, the Lord-Lieutenant, which nomenclature was substituted for it towards the close of the eighteenth century; the only difference being that the more ancient official had more power of initiative in the work of administration, as will be seen presently. The first to hold this honourable office was William of Auchterhouse, who was Sheriff of Angus in 1245. One after another of this family of Ramsay succeeded to the position, which was heritable, till the time of Sir Malcolm Ramsay, who, though he remained in office till his death about 1408, owing to failing health appointed his son-in-law, on 31st October, 1380, Temporary or Acting Sheriff. Although Sir Walter Ogilvy is generally designated Sheriff of Angus, it is highly questionable if he ever held the position absolutely; indeed, it is more than likely, bordering even on certainty, that he was never more than the Depute of his father-in-law, who, as it will be seen, survived him. He received a grant, on 24th October, 1386, from Robert II. of an annual of £29 sterling due to the King out of the thanedom of Kyngaltny, in the shire of Angus, and in the accounts rendered by the Sheriff of the County in 1391 this annual payment is entered, which was the last that Sir Walter Ogilvy was destined to receive.

King Robert II. died at Dundonald on 19th April, 1390, and was buried at Scone. He was the first of the House of Stewart to ascend the throne of Scotland, being the son of Walter, sixth High Steward, and Marjory Bruce, only daughter of Robert the Bruce by his first marriage. The traditional account of the descent of this family from Banquo, Thane of Lochaber, and through him from the

ancient Kings of Scotland, long cherished in the annals of history, may now be safely regarded as discredited. The careful research of recent years has unearthed facts which put a different complexion on the origin of the Stewarts, and makes it certain that they were of Breton and descended from a family which held the office of Seneschal or Steward of Dol, under the Counts of Dol and Dinan, in Brittany, about the eleventh century. Crossing to England at the time of the Norman Conquest, or possibly earlier, they speedily established themselves in that country, and soon spread their wings north, when, during the reign of David I., they folded their pinions comfortably in the office of High Steward of Scotland, and in course of time took as their surname the name of the position which they held. The native nobility regarded this rapid promotion of an alien race with anything but a favourable eye, and when at length it reached the pinnacle of earthly greatness, the proud Barons who surrounded the throne, many of whom could boast the blood of Kings, were little prepared to render to one whom they had but lately seen in their own rank and associated with as their equal, that homage which attached to a long line of Princes. Their resentment, if sullen, was no less deeply felt, and they determined that if a Stewart should sit upon the throne, the nobles should rule the kingdom—a policy which anyone who is acquainted with the history of the country will know was effectively accomplished. The mild temper of Robert III., taken alongside his physical disability to pursue the manly exercises of the field, gave an opening to the more obstreperous element to assert its power. The late King had, in the first year of his reign, granted the lands of Badenoch, which had been forfeited by the Cumyns, to his fourth son, Alexander, who, from his wild and lawless disposition, became known as “the Wolf of Badenoch,” a cruel and ferocious savage, a species of Celtic Attila, whose mission it was to scourge and afflict the nation. The depredations of the Earl of Buchan in the northern parts of the kingdom were extensive and ruthless, laying waste the country with a sacrilege which excited great horror

among the people. He had no family by his wife Eupham, Countess of Ross, but a number of illegitimate sons boarded at his table; conspicuous amongst these was Duncan Stewart, whose manners were worthy of his sire. The exploits of the father were a signal for the son to declare war against society, and, issuing from his lair in the north at the head of a wild assembly of caterans, armed with sword and target, broke across the Grampians, plundering the country and slaughtering the inhabitants as they marched to their objective—a descent on the Braes of Angus.

Sir Walter Ogilvy, then Acting Sheriff of the County, who, if he were “Godlike, wyse, and wertuous,” was also “stout and manfull, bauld and wycht”—a true type of the spirit of the Knights Templars—on receipt of the intelligence that so large a force of fierce and unscrupulous men were on the war-path, and bent on depredation and slaughter, summoned such of the Barons of Angus and their followers as were within easy reach—Sir David Lindsay of Glenesk, Sir Patrick Gray, Sir Walter of Lichtoun, Young of Ouchterlony, the Lairds of Cairncross, Forfar, and Guthrie, and with a force inferior in numbers, but trusting to the temper of their armour and their own bravery, set out to meet the invaders. From a knowledge of the mountain-passes and fords which formed the usual route from Speyside to the Lowlands, the only roads then existing, Sir Walter Ogilvy judged that the freebooters would march by Pitlochry and Glenbrerechan, and he planned to intercept them at Glasclune, north of Blairgowrie. The mountaineers fought with a ferocity and a contempt of life which struck panic into their steel-clad assailants, and in a short time completely overwhelmed the men of Angus. Early in the battle Sir Walter Ogilvy was slain, and by his side fell Sir Walter of Lichtoun, who is called “his uterine brother,” together with sixty of his followers, among whom were most of the names above mentioned. Sir David Lindsay and Sir Patrick Gray were severely wounded. Of the former it is related, as showing the fierce nature of the combat, that while he fought valiantly, making many of the enemy

bite the dust, one of great stature and herculean strength whom he met in a close hand-to-hand struggle, after a desperate encounter, he succeeded in piercing with his lance and pinning him to the ground. "The savage mountaineer," it is said, "though in the agonies of death, writhed his body up against the weapon, and, collecting all his force, with a last dying effort, fetched a sweeping blow with his broadsword, which cut through the Knight's stirrup leather and steel boot through three or four ply of leather to the very bone," and immediately thereafter rolled over dead upon the field of strife.

On 26th March, 1392, at a General Council held at Perth, King Robert III. issued a Brief addressed to the Sheriff and Bailiffs of Aberdeen, directing them "to put to the horn as outlaws the persons guilty of the slaughter of Walter de Ogilvy, Walter de Lichtoun, and others of the King's lieges." The death of Sir Walter Ogilvy of Auchterhouse in the prime of his manhood, in the zenith of his fame, a man of great administrative capacity, esteemed all over the country and far beyond it for his integrity of purpose, his love of equity and justice, his social qualities and goodness of heart, was deeply mourned and deplored. By his marriage with Isabella Ramsay he had three sons, who have all left a deep impression on the annals of the nation's history—Alexander, Walter, and John; a trio of remarkable fortune, of singular distinction, who each in his own sphere rose to prominence: Alexander, "the gracious gude Lord Ogilvy," was Sheriff-Principal of Angus, from whom was descended the historic family of Inchmartin and Findlater; Walter, the ancestor of the Airlie Ogilvys; and John of Inverquharity. As the ancestor of the House of Airlie has thus come upon the scene, it might have been possible, as it may be expected, to take leave of the Auchterhouse branch, as was done recently with the original stock, and pursue this new departure, but the cases are dissimilar. For, whereas the lords of that ill passed their days in the ancient Castle of Ogilvy in splendid isolation—perhaps in serene indifference to their cousins of later descent, and, it may be, with that Celti

regard for pride of place and birth, lived much apart—the Ogilvys of Auchterhouse so intermingled their interests with each other of their line that for generations they cross and recross in the stream of their intercourse, and it thus becomes necessary to pursue them to the end, which is not far distant.

Sir Alexander Ogilvy succeeded his father as heir to Auchterhouse, and on the death of his grandfather, Sir Malcolm Ramsay, in 1408, he entered into the full enjoyment of his inheritance and became Sheriff-Principal of Angus. He would be little more than thirty years of age at the time of his succession, but when comparatively young he had married and had several children. The name of his wife, always an interesting matter in family histories, is unknown. In recognition of his own merits and in acknowledgment of his father's great services and untimely sacrifice, he was in great favour with Robert III., who, on several occasions, manifested his appreciation of his worth, and as a reward for his service granted him an annual rent out of the Customs of Dundee. During the regency of Robert, Duke of Albany, while James, the third but only surviving son of Robert III., was still a prisoner in England, Sir Alexander Ogilvy saw active service. The suspicion that surrounded the Regent, inasmuch as he was the third son of Robert II. and in the absence of a male heir would naturally ascend the throne, was at this time very great. He was by most people shrewdly suspected of having starved to death his nephew, David, whose younger brother, whether by design or accident, was captured at sea by the English on his way to France and retained a prisoner for eighteen years. Such a situation was bound to breed discord; for once the seeds of suspicion are sown, especially in the rank soil of a turbulent people, every bush may well appear an officer.

The Lord of the Isles, whose head was as full of quarrels as an egg is full of meat, chose this particular time to bring to the arbitrament of the sword what in essence was a domestic dispute, but which assumed such a serious and formidable nature that it shook the security of the

Government and threatened to dismember a portion of the kingdom. The Earl of Ross had married a daughter of the Regent, and by her had an only child, Euphemia, who in due course became Countess of Ross, but on electing to become a nun, resigned the earldom in favour of her uncle, John. This destination, Donald, Lord of the Isles, steadily and haughtily resisted on the plea that, by taking the veil, she became civilly dead, and that by his wife, Margaret, the right of succession belonged lawfully to him. The matter was referred to the Duke of Albany for decision, who gave his award against the claim of the island Prince. This was the signal for a resort to arms, to make good by the sword what he had failed to gain by force of law. Indeed, this trusty weapon was the only argument for which he had any respect. Collecting an army of Highlanders who were armed after the fashion of their country, he broke in upon the earldom, whose people readily submitted to him because they were helpless to resist. He next summoned the fighting men in Boyne and Enzie, who were compelled to follow his banner, and with a force of ten thousand men he swept through Moray, Strathbogie, and laid waste the extensive district of Garioch, which belonged to the Earl of Mar. Boasting that he would commit to the flames the burgh of Aberdeen and make a desert of the country as far as the banks of the Tay, he had already reached the Don, where the smoke of his camp-fires alarmed the good burghers in their booths and the general body of the people in the immediate neighbourhood. Meanwhile the Earl of Mar, who was a soldier of repute and a military leader of recognised distinction, had opened up negotiations with Sir Alexander Ogilvy, Sheriff of Angus, who at once proceeded to muster the men of Angus and the Mearns in a bold attempt to check the threatened invasion of Strathmore. Summoning the fighting men of the county, there speedily assembled at Auchterhouse a large force of steel-clad Knights and their men-at-arms, including the hereditary Standard-bearer of Scotland, Sir James Scrymgeour, Constable of Dundee. At the head of fully two thousand splendidly equipped troops with

their several banners floating in the breeze, Sir Alexander Ogilvy marched through Angus and picked up the Mearns Barons with their feudal services, arriving at Aberdeen, where he joined forces with the Earl of Mar. There was no mistaking the character of the struggle that lay before them. The elements of the opposing hosts were clearly defined, as their policy was clean-cut and bitterly antagonistic. Indeed, it was the meeting of the old and deeply rooted hostility of the Celtic and Saxon civilisation; the reactionary and the progressive forces of the nation in solid conflict. The feeling on either side was deep and rancorous, and the shock between two such armies may easily be imagined to be, as it was, dreadful. There was no delay. Advancing from Aberdeen along the King's highway to Inverness, the Earl of Mar's army came in sight of the Highlanders at dawn on 24th July, 1411, at the village of Harlaw, near where the Urie makes a junction with the Don.

The clash of arms was immediate as it was desperate and prolonged. Sir Alexander Ogilvy and the Constable of Dundee led the advance with a body of well-mounted Angus horsemen, whose grove of spears glittered in the morning sun, while the Earl of Mar followed at the head of the main army. Greatly inferior in number, they were superior in arms and discipline, as the Highlanders found to their cost when, as their custom was in coming into battle, they rushed into the charge with that reckless impetuosity and contempt of life so characteristic of them, only to be met with a forest of levelled spears, ponderous maces, and battle-axes dexterously handled. In the first onset the caterans were driven back with great slaughter, but though hundreds lay dead on the field, hundreds were ready to fill up the gap more fierce and fresh than their predecessors. At this juncture, the Earl of Mar brought the main army into action and penetrated into the heart of the enemy. The battle now became general in a close hand-to-hand fight and no quarter. The dead lay all around in heaps. The Constable of Dundee was among the slain. Sir Alexander Ogilvy lay motionless among the dead, while his eldest son, George,

was the victim of the enemy's sword. Only with night-fall, combined with the exhaustion of nature, did the slaughter cease. Both sides suffered great loss. The Highlanders, retreating after the battle, left behind them about a thousand dead; while in the Earl of Mar's army over five hundred lay dead on the field, many of them being families of note in Angus and Mearns—Leslie of Balquhain and his six sons; Sir Thomas Murray; Sir Robert Maule of Panmure; Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum; Sir William Abernethy of Saltoun; and a host of Clan Ogilvy. Sir Alexander Ogilvy was thus mourned in the old ballad of the Battle of Harlaw:

“Of the best among them was  
The gracious gude Lord Ogilvy;  
The Sheriff-Principal of Angus  
Renownit for truth and equity,  
For faith and magnanimity,  
He had few fellows in the field,  
Yet fell by fatal destiny,  
For he nae ways wad grant to yield.”

In our general histories the Sheriff of Angus is classed among the slain, but this is a mistake. He was found lying among a heap of the dead, but still living. He had been severely, and it was at first thought fatally, wounded, but carried to a place of safety and afterwards conveyed to Aberdeen, he gradually recovered, and by autumn was able to make the journey to Auchterhouse. The Battle of Harlaw was long remembered, owing to the bravery with which the field was disputed and the numbers which fell on both sides, while the fate of the conflict was fraught with such consequences that, should the Highlanders have been victorious, at that time a wild and barbarous people, Lowland civilisation would have been jeopardised and the dawn of Saxon culture arrested. For this reason the victory made a deep impression on the public mind, and fixed itself in the music and poetry of the nation.

“The gracious gude Lord Ogilvy,” saved as by a miracle in that charnel-house of death, was destined to play a not unimportant part in the solution of the diffi-

culties of the situation which then existed. He was of that party which, undeterred by the intrigues of the Regent, loyally kept in view that James, still a prisoner in England, was the rightful Sovereign of Scotland, and he spared no pains, as he did not conceal his determination, to have him restored to his liberties and to his kingdom so soon as an opportunity should favour the design. Within two years after the battle in which he suffered so severely, circumstances arose which forced him and his compatriots to adopt a firmer attitude, and to resort to more drastic measures than they had hitherto entertained. The Duke of Albany, crafty, suspicious, and self-seeking, keeping ever in view the odd chance of seeing himself or one of his sons in the seat of honour and power, had strained every effort to secure the retention of James in captivity, while at the same time he left no stone unturned to effect the restoration of his eldest son, Murdoch, Earl of Fife, also in custody of the English. By dint of subtle negotiations through underground channels, he at length contrived to gain the latter object of his ambitious scheme, little recking that he should thereby stimulate a movement which, though to all appearance in a comatose state, yet lay near to the heart of every Scottish patriot. The return to his home of the Regent's son had the immediate effect of whetting the desire of the great bulk of the nobility to have their exiled Sovereign restored to his rights and dignity. Fortunately for the accomplishment of this purpose, there was at the time, apart from Border raids and insulated acts of hostility, a general desire in both countries to discourage the hereditary animosity which had so long existed between the two nations, and to foster this feeling of amity and good-fellowship. In consequence, there had grown up a constant intercourse between many of the Scottish nobility and the Court of Henry IV., where they had the privilege of meeting James I. and perceiving the excellent qualities with which he was endowed. The favourable reports which reached this country of the fine character and dignified bearing of the King of Scots contributed to make the desire generally entertained all the more

passionate and insistent for his restoration. This amiable feeling of loyalty and attachment took practical shape when, on 16th April, 1413, Sir Alexander Ogilvy, whose reputation for wise and conciliatory counsels stood high in the estimation of his peers, was appointed to represent them and proceed to the English Court to treat for the liberation of King James, obtaining for this purpose a safe-conduct for his journey to England. The sagacious Sheriff of Angus, suave, prudent, and diplomatic, faced with a delicate situation on the right handling of which so much depended, conducted his mission with great circumspection, though he found it no easy task to traverse the designs of the wily Regent. His attitude, manner, and address, however, were so agreeable to the Court, that his safe-conduct was extended for some months, and if in the end he failed to secure the restoration of James to his liberties, he at least succeeded in leaving such a favourable impression on the mind of Henry, that he put in train a disposition which eventually bore fruit. Two years later he returned to the English Court on a similar mission, and on this occasion he negotiated to some purpose and with partial success, attaining the length of a compromise by which the youthful Sovereign should be permitted to return to Scotland for a certain time, provided a sufficient number of hostages were found to guarantee his return within the stipulated period. But when everything was on a fair way of succeeding, on the eve of the treaty being concluded, something mysterious happened, which as yet has never been brought to light, that undid all the diplomatic efforts of Sir Alexander Ogilvy, and for the time shattered the hopes of the people of Scotland.

The home has always been recognised as the woman's domain and her house her kingdom; in those far-back days, being strictly confined to her domestic duties, she was little known beyond the boundaries of her husband's estates. The procreation of children was her chief duty, as it was, fortunately for the race, her main ambition; while their training was entrusted to her absolutely. The wife was seldom abroad in the country, and never

dabbled in the affairs of the State. Indeed, the more domesticated she was, there was so much the less chance of her becoming widely known, and none at all of her appearing in the annals of history, unless she happened to be an heiress with large revenues and lands whose charters brought her before the public notice; otherwise, as in this particular instance, she remained in the background. By his wife, Sir Alexander Ogilvy had a family of four sons and one daughter. The eldest son, George, as stated, was killed at the battle of Harlaw. The second son, Patrick, will be noticed presently. The third son, Andrew, inherited the lands of Inchmartin, whose descendant in course of time succeeded to the earldom of Findlater, of which something falls to be discussed at a later stage. The fourth son, David, held the lands of Balmuto, and was one of the hostages for King James I. in England when, in 1424, he was restored to his liberties and to the throne of Scotland. The only daughter, Marjory, was married to David, third Earl of Crawford, whose unfortunate death at the hands of the Ogilvys will be referred to when the time comes to deal with the Battle of Arbroath.

Though Sir Alexander Ogilvy was still in middle life, the almost fatal wound at the Battle of Harlaw had undermined his health, and though naturally strong and vigorous, now began to feel that it had levied a heavy tax on his constitution. He attended to the administrative work of the county, and so late as 14th July, 1421, sat as one of the auditors of the royal revenues. So far as known, this was his last public appearance. He was denied the privilege of seeing the fruit of all his loyal efforts—James I. firmly established on the throne of Scotland—as he died in the autumn of 1423. He was up to this stage of our history the greatest of all the Ogilvy line. A man of excellent parts, soldier, statesman, diplomatist, he was admired and trusted by all sections and classes of the nation, because of his imperturbable temper, his sagacity, his upright integrity of character and his unfeigned loyalty to his ideal of citizenship.

“Renownit for truth and equity,  
For faith and magnanimity.”

He was succeeded by his second son, Sir Patrick Ogilvy, Lord of Auchterhouse. It is seldom that three generations in unbroken succession stand upon the crest of the wave. Apart from being the third Sheriff-Principal of Angus, which, of course, fell to him as part of his inheritance, he was in his own particular sphere as remarkable as his father, and if he had been spared to see even his length of days, he might have excelled the brilliant career of his great-parent. He took a wider outlook on life than the late Sheriff, and he spread a more expansive wing over the field of his activities. The province did not suffice for either his ambition or his ability, and he was richly endowed with both of these attributes. For one thing, he enjoyed greater advantages than hitherto had been available to any of his line. Towards the close of the fourteenth century there had sprung up among the nobility of Scotland an ardent desire for a more thorough system of education, and Sir Alexander Ogilvy was a devoted patron of learning. The school of educationists centred at St. Andrews with Henry Wardlaw, the Bishop of that See, as its moving spirit, found in him a tower of strength. The institution of the Scottish College in Paris in 1326 had proved but a partial success, having been taken advantage of mostly by aspirants to the priesthood. It was now felt to be necessary, in addition to the various schools which were connected with the monasteries, to have a seat of learning after the pattern of Balliol College in Oxford for the study of the higher branches of science and philosophy. The late Sheriff of Angus threw the whole weight of his influence in support of these pioneers of literature, and when the time came to receive the sanction of the Pope, he was mainly instrumental in despatching Henry Ogilvy, a priest, his own natural son, who had a dispensation to take orders and at the time was Canon of Tullynessle in Aberdeen Cathedral, to obtain a Bull authorising the establishment of a University; and great was the rejoicing in the ancient city of St. Rule when, on 3rd February, 1413, amid the tumultuous joy of the inhabitants and the ringing of bells from the steeples, they were granted the high and im-

portant privilege of having the first great seminary of learning in Scotland. One of the first of our Scottish youths to take advantage of this opportunity of making acquaintance with the higher branches of education was Sir Patrick Ogilvy, who having the desire, had the aptitude for classical studies; and it may be that his wider outlook on life, partly due to the motions of an aspiring mind, was chiefly attributable to that culture which the mental discipline of a University furnishes. At any rate, at an early period of his short career, he moved in the sphere of high politics and took a prominent place in Court circles on the restoration of James I.

Many of the Ogilvys have found marriage to be a profitable business. Through their matrimonial alliances they have been careful to "enlarge the place of their tents, and to stretch forth the curtains of their habitations." Not the least calculating among them was Sir Patrick Ogilvy, who, by his marriage with Christian, daughter and heiress of Sir Alexander Keith of Grandon, acquired extensive lands in the counties of Aberdeen and Banff. In his father's lifetime and with his consent, confirmed by James I. on 14th April, 1426, he founded a mortification "for a Chaplain to perform Divine Service for ever in the Chapel of St. Mary the Virgin of Garioch, for the safety of the soul of the late Andrew De Lesley, Knight, of good memory, of an annual rent of ten marks to be levied at the usual terms by the said Chaplain, or by the Mair of Garioch for the time, from his lands of Strathalva in the Shire of Banff, which failing, from the lands of the Baronies of Auchterhouse and Eassie in the Shire of Forfar." The marriage issued in a family of two sons and two daughters—Alexander, who will be referred to presently; and Walter, who by his marriage, in 1439, to Margaret Fenton, eldest daughter of Walter Fenton of Baikie, came into possession of the lordly estates of Beaufort; Christian, who was married as second wife to Sir John Wemyss of Reres; and Margaret, who was married to Sir John Oliphant of Aberdalgy.

By the time of his father's death in 1423, Sir Patrick Ogilvy was in the swim of political life, and, though still

in the heyday of his youthful manhood, was a force in the county. For his father's sake as well as on the strength of his own merits, James I., when he ascended the throne in 1424, extended to him particular attention, deferred to his counsels, and as a mark of his confidence and favour appointed him to the office of Chief Justiciar of Scotland north of the Forth. Three years later he enjoyed a still further token of His Majesty's goodwill and friendship. About the beginning of July, 1428, there arrived at the Scottish Court an embassy from France, who were received "with great respect, magnificence, and honour"; the object of the mission being to obtain military help for Charles VII. in the shape of a proposal, not only for the renewal of the old alliance with that country, but also for a further strengthening of its bonds by means of a union between the Princess Margaret and the Dauphin Louis when they should reach marriageable age. The King of Scots was favourable to the projected union under conditions which he prescribed, but as the French Ambassadors were not free to subscribe to these on their own responsibility, it was suggested, as a further step, that James I. should appoint Ambassadors with precise instructions and vested with plenipotentiary powers to enter on a formal treaty to the agreement at which they might arrive. By letters missive, issued at Perth on 17th July, 1428, and delivered to the French Ambassadors, the King made known that he had appointed three dignitaries of the realm—Henry Leighton, Bishop of Aberdeen; Edward Lauder, Archdeacon of Lothian; and Sir Patrick Ogilvy of Auchterhouse, Justiciar of Scotland—to go as his representatives to the Court of France, and had authorised and empowered them to signify his consent and that of his daughter to the proposed union; to fix the amount of her settlement and the security to be given for it. Sir Patrick Ogilvy was not unknown at the French Court, having three years before this date been one of an embassy to that country on the accession of James I. But, alas! this promise of increasing greatness was doomed to an untimely end. He carried through his mission successfully, and on his

return to this country he received the enviable appointment, in succession to Sir John Stewart of Darnley, of Constable of the Scots in France. In this connection he visited that country for his installation to this office, probably in 1430, and on his way home to Scotland the ship in which he sailed was wrecked off the Dutch coast, when one of the bright particular lights of the Ogilvy race, little more than thirty years of age and in the zenith of his fame, sank into the darkness of that treacherous and tempestuous sea, where he sleeps till it shall give up its dead. The direct male line of Auchterhouse suffered a great eclipse and declension in Sir Patrick Ogilvy's eldest son, Alexander, who was a facile person and incapable of conducting his own affairs. He had sufficient intelligence to make him self-willed, but utterly destitute of the power to appreciate the value of things or to see them in their true perspective. This type of infirmity usually runs into one or other of two extremes, either to excessive meanness or to flagrant extravagance. The latter was Sir Alexander Ogilvy's weakness. With no sense of proportion, he fell under the influence of his brother, Walter, who was none too richly endowed with intellectual gifts, and was also the prey of the Stewarts and the Lindsays. In the end the Stewarts were the most successful parties in the scramble. Sir Alexander Ogilvy, in the heyday of his youth, had entered the bonds of matrimony with a person whose identity has not emerged in the annals of the family, by whom he had a daughter, Margaret, who was married to James Stewart, son of the Black Knight of Lorn, afterwards created Earl of Buchan. Gradually passing into imbecility, Sir Walter Ogilvy was appointed tutor to him, and when he died, about 1472, the barony of Auchterhouse, as well as the various baronies in the counties of Aberdeen and Banff, which had come into the family with his mother, passed through his daughter into another channel; out of the Ogilvy to the Stewart family, and, as will be seen later, more than two hundred and fifty years were to come and go before Auchterhouse returned to the Ogilvys.

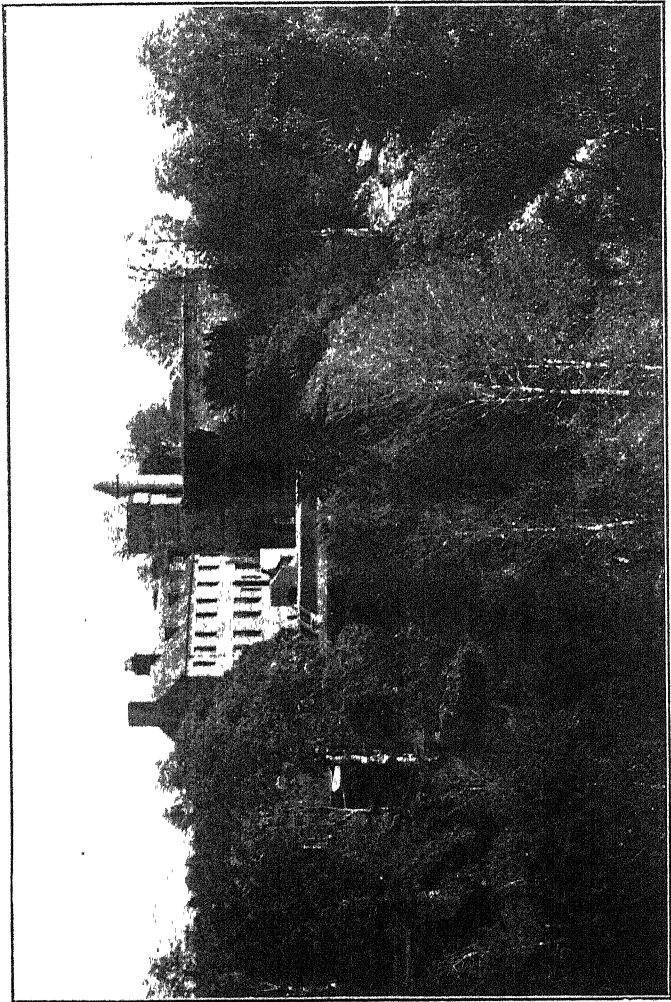


# PART II

AIRLIE







*Yab ulim a Soos, Dundee.*

AIRLIE CASTLE.

## SIR WALTER OGILVY

THE lands of Airlie, in virtue of the distinguished history of the Ogilvys of Airlie, have become historical; and the Castle, wherever the English language is spoken and Scottish chivalry is known either in song or story, has entered into the hearts and affections of the people. Romance has encircled the place with striking incidents and historic scenes. Around it cluster, like the rich fruit of the vine, deeds of entrancing interest and of absorbing national importance, while bold adventure and heroic loyalty to the family ideal have made it an enchanted ground to the student of history, and especially to the lover of the old days of romance and chivalry. One of the finest of our Scottish lyrics, in the full flush of the poesy and the politics of the period—"The Bonnie House o' Airlie"—has done much to spread abroad the fame of the family, their loyalty and sacrifice, and has surrounded the ancient fortalice with all the glamour of romantic episode. The lands of Airlie were, and still are, but a small part of the extensive territory owned by the Earl of Airlie; their chief interest being that they were among the earliest, and, with the exception of Lintrathen, now the oldest of the family possessions. The name of the property from which the title is taken, like all place-names in early Scottish history, is Gaelic, and is descriptive of its physical features. Generally believed to be derived from "Aird," which means "the high ground," or "the top of the ridge," this quite accurately describes its conformation. Extending to twelve hundred acres, it is in the form of a peninsula bounded on the west by the River Isla, on the north by the Melgam, and on the south by the water of the Canty. Like unto the body of a camel, it rises from its southern boundary by a sharp ascent till the "Aird," or "the top of the ridge," is

reached, when it descends as abruptly to the bed of the Melgam; while it stretches east along the Braes of Angus to the hill of Kames, where a most extensive view may be had of the valley of Strathmore. From this point the eye can sweep a wide stretch of country, richly wooded, a beautiful and smiling landscape of variegated scenery, undulating and picturesque, with the Ochil Hills on the southern sky-line and the giant heads of the Grampian range towering far in the west. No lover of Nature with anything of the artist's soul within him can contemplate this peaceful picture of quiet pastoral scenery, unrivalled for its exquisite grace and charm, without feeling its marvellous combination of rugged grandeur and simple beauty.

The earliest known proprietor of Airlie was the Mormaer of Angus, but in the general forfeiture of his estates in the twelfth century this property seems to have been retained by the Crown when William "the Lion" reversed the attainder against Gillebride, Earl of Angus, in 1172. A century later Sir Simon De Preston, Knight, was in possession, holding the estate on the tenure of military service. In 1375 this family, for some reason that is not forthcoming, resigned it to the Crown, when Robert II., the first of the Stewart line of Kings, by Royal Charter, conferred "the lands of Eroly" on John De Cappella, "Keeper of the King's Chappel." The lordship of this son of the Monastery was of short duration, as later in the same year His Majesty made a gift of "Eroly" to William De Camera (the "Camerarius," or Chamberlain), "Usher of the King's Chappel," who remained in possession for five and twenty years, when the semi-ecclesiastical ownership terminated in favour of a civilian proprietorship in the person of Sir John Stratoun of Lauriston for "the service of one Knight." Sir John at once proceeded to divide the estate, disposing of "the half-lands of Eroly" to John Guthrie of Guthrie, reserving for himself that portion on which the Castle stands. It is generally believed that he either made an addition to the old house of Airlie or had it rebuilt. On the loss of his son, who was killed at the

Battle of Harlaw, however, he retired to his property, near Montrose, where he died in 1431, and the following year "the half-lands of Eroly" came into the possession of the Airlie family.

Sir Walter Ogilvy, of the seventh generation of the Ogilvys, who purchased the Airlie lands and thus became associated with a name which his posterity were to make illustrious, was the second son of Sir Walter Ogilvy, Sheriff of Angus, who was killed at Glaselune in 1392, and was born at Auchterhouse in the neighbourhood of 1380. If the vigorous branch of the family from which he sprang left the old stock far behind in the race of life, his own descendants were destined to make the name of Ogilvy historical, and to wreath around it all the glamour of romance by stirring deeds of loyalty and devotion to a great ideal. The ancestor of the House of Airlie gave them a good start. A man of great ability, whose ambition was the equal of his talents, he possessed, for that period, great wealth, and early in his career cast his eyes abroad for a profitable investment. Land was cheap, and, in those days of feud and strife and daily combat, was constantly changing hands. Besides, the Ogilvys had now become a power in the land, and especially throughout the Midlands of Scotland their influence was far-reaching. With money at his command, and being animated by the desire to possess himself of territory, while others were deeply engaged in Court intrigue during the latter years of the feeble rule of Robert III., Sir Walter Ogilvy, having attained his majority, shrewd, far-seeing, capable, persevering, and withal ambitious, was buying land wherever it was available, with the result that in a few years he became a great territorialist and a magnate of considerable repute. He made his first appearance as Sir Walter Ogilvy of Carcary in the barony of Dun; but while these lands formed part of his earliest acquisitions, there is nothing to indicate how he acquired them. This designation, however, was short-lived, as the following year, 1401, he had occasion to change it. From the Hill of Auchterhouse, looking north, a fine view might be had of the lands of the Durwards. There, on

the foothills of the Grampians, had lived for centuries the hereditary Hostiarii or Doorwards of the Celtic Kings of Scotland. Known in the tenth century by their territorial designation of De Lundin, derived from their property of Lundie, when surnames came into fashion like many others they assumed that of their office. Thomas De Lundin, the King's Hostiary in the reign of William "the Lion," laid claim through his mother to the ancient earldom of Mar; but while the King on the ground of policy preferred another as ruler of the province, he granted by way of solatium a large tract of land between the Rivers Dee and Don, which was withdrawn from the earldom and became the property of the Durwards. In the reign of Alexander III., Alan Durward occupied the office of High Justiciar of Scotland, in virtue of which he was the King's Chief Counsellor. One of the most accomplished, the most daring, and the most powerful magnates of his time, he married Marjory, an illegitimate daughter of Alexander II.; and on perceiving that heirs to the throne were few and the situation precarious, he was shrewd enough to procure from the Court of Rome the legitimization of his wife, in order, should the King die without heirs, that his own children should succeed to the Crown; and as a matter of fact his grandson, Nicholas De Soulis, was a competitor in 1291. The owner of immense territories in Fife, Angus, and Aberdeenshire, his chief residence was on the south-west side of the Hill of Formal, known as the Peel, or Castle of Lintrathen. The male line of the powerful race of Durward had failed; the last of the name, Alan Durward, had been buried with his many ancestors under the principal doorway of the Abbey of St. Mary. Two daughters were left as co-heiresses of the family estates, the elder of whom having as her portion the barony of Lintrathen. There in the ancient castle of this once prominent family lived Isabel Durward, the prize of the day; young, accomplished, rich—it may be, proud with the pardonable glory of a great and noble history. Sir Walter Ogilvy, too, was young, rich, and ambitious. Still in the flush of his early manhood with its radiant

visions, its brilliant ideals, its innocent enthusiasms, he was full of enterprise and had the virtuous gift of forethought. He had that type of mind which takes a broad view of things, and keeps a bold outlook on the chances and possibilities of life. He no doubt firmly believed in the providential order of human events, but he had enough of the worldly mind to know that a great deal depends for the success of life on personal effort, human exertion, and legitimate aspiration. Love's young dream did not blind his vision of materially aggrandising his earthly portion, and to combine business with pleasure was to his practical outlook a solemn as it was a sober duty. His passion for the fair Isabel with the long pedigree was ardent enough as it was chaste and manly; but he was not consumed by weak sentiment to the detriment of an augmented fortune, and in this respect he set an example which many of his descendants have been shrewd enough to follow. He married, about 1401, the heiress of the Durwards, and settled down in the comfortable home of the ancient castle, henceforth being known to history as Sir Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen.

The appetite grows by what it feeds on. Having thus added something like six thousand acres to his holding, for the next few years he was continually in the market acquiring land, and thereby laid the foundation of the family greatness. On 13th December, 1403, he purchased from Henry Duncauson two parts of the lands of Easter Fingask in Perthshire. On 26th November, 1404, he acquired from John Barclay of Kippow the lands of Easter Keilour. In the same year he secured the lands of Garlet in the barony of Kinnell, and, from John Allardice, the estate of Invercarrewkie (Inverquharity) in the barony of Kirriemuir; while on 1st December, 1404, he purchased from Isobel Douglas, Countess of Mar and Garioch, Tullycurran in Strathardolf, with the Fortalice of Glenartney in the shire of Perth; also the kirkton of Eassie in Angus. In 1406 he received by grant in his favour from Archibald, Earl of Douglas, Cardabow, Purgavy, Galoucht, and Glenquharady, by which acquisition he now owned the whole barony of

Lintrathen. By his marriage with Isabel Durward, he had two sons : John, who will be referred to later ; and James, who was in no way noteworthy and is described as "*frater Johannis De Ogilvy De Lintrathen.*" Lady Isabel Ogilvy died shortly after giving birth to her second son, some time in the year 1403. Sir Walter Ogilvy married, secondly, in the year 1405, Isabel, daughter of Sir John Glen of Inchmartin, who brought to him under the contract of marriage the lands of Balhall in the parish of Menmuir, and, on 6th November, 1419, he received from his mother-in-law, the Lady of Inchmartin, the half-lands of Wardropestoun in the Mearns ; while on 20th November, he obtained from the same source, to himself in life-rent and to his eldest son by the second marriage in fee, the lands of Auchleven, Ardune (Ardoyne), and Harlaw in Aberdeenshire. In addition to these widely scattered possessions, in 1422 he acquired from the Abbot of Aberbrothock the lands and barony of Bolshan, with its ancient castle. By this time, besides being a great territorialist, he had alongside his brother, Sir Alexander Ogilvy, the Sheriff of Angus, become a powerful personage in the country, as may be gathered from the fact that he was appointed Bailie of the Abbey.

The Abbey of Aberbrothock, whose venerable and picturesque remains are still the admiration of ecclesiologists, was founded in 1178 by William "the Lion," and dedicated to the memory of Thomas à Becket, Chancellor of England and Archbishop of Canterbury. The monks installed in it were brought from Kelso, and were of the Tyronesian Order, which followed the Rule of St. Benedict. The King of Scots and the Archbishop had for long been close and intimate friends. The assassination of the latter on 29th December, 1170, when he was at vespers in the Cathedral of Canterbury, was a great shock to His Majesty, and when two years after his martyrdom Thomas à Becket was canonised, the King was superstitious enough to sympathise with the homage which had begun to be paid to the Saint's memory. He, therefore, on a sumptuous scale, dedicated to him the Abbey of Aberbrothock, the first establishment of the kind in that part

of his dominions. As its chartulary shows, William and his Court often met in it, as did his successors, granting Charters which are dated from it, and transacting other business of the nation. It was there, too, that King Robert the Bruce, in 1320, held that Parliament which so nobly declared the independence of Scotland, and embodied the declaration in a remonstrance to the Pope, the reading of which is said to have made the Holy Father tremble. At a later date, its most illustrious Abbot, David Beaton, made it the scene of his great power and influence, and formed that association with the House of Airlie which has become historical.

It was the custom at this period, when the strength of the feudal aristocracy controlled the rights, and frequently insulted the privileges of such institutions as abbeys and royal burghs, that the monks in the one case and the citizens in the other, where it was practicable, chose as their Bailie or Chief Magistrate some powerful nobleman, or Baron, in the neighbourhood who was expected to stand their friend at Court in such matters as concerned their common weal. This protection was not always gratuitous; the position carried with it certain perquisites; in many cases these were, as in the Abbey of Aberbrothock, considerably substantial. The fact that Sir Walter Ogilvy was chosen by the ecclesiastical authorities of the Abbey as their Bailie, to guard and protect their interests and those affecting the benefice generally, suggests that he was a prominent figure throughout the Midlands of Scotland, that he exercised great influence, had at his command a force sufficient to assert the rights and defend the privileges of the institution; and, moreover, was known to be in hearty sympathy with the religious polity and the ideal of the spiritual brotherhood. The office being heritable, it passed down through succeeding generations of the Ogilvys of Airlie for the space of three hundred years; indeed, remained in the family till hereditary jurisdictions were abolished in 1747. Bolshan Castle was the official residence of the Bailie of the Abbey, and there for the next two hundred years the Airlie family had

their principal home; Airlie Castle being used during the summer months, or as a residence for the eldest son when he married. Little would Sir Walter Ogilvy think, when he took up his abode in near neighbourhood to the lands of the Lindsays, that he was setting in train one of the deadliest and longest-drawn clan feuds of our Scottish history as bitter as it was remorseless, which will unfold itself as this narrative proceeds.

Before entering on his political career, it may be advisable at this stage to discuss a matter of domestic consequence. Sir Walter Ogilvy had great possessions; but his brother, John, had apparently not been so fortunate in the race of life. Either he had not his aggressive temperament or similar opportunities had not come his way. At any rate, he had not succeeded in carving out a position for himself in any way comparable to that of Sir Walter, and this gave the occasion for an estimable display of brotherly feeling. On 10th June, 1420, "from the warmth of pure affection," the latter made a gift of the lands of Inverquharity to Sir John Ogilvy—"delecto fratri meo Johanni De Ogilvy"—with the ancient castle of that name, declared to be one of the best specimens of baronial architecture. It has been a matter of controversy of late years which was the elder. How or when such a disputation arose, it is difficult to say. It was certainly unknown so late as the seventeenth century, whereas in all the early family records Walter is always mentioned as the second son. They may not afford proof in law, but certain facts emerge in later parts of our history which at least tend to substantiate the position of Sir Walter Ogilvy's seniority, but before mentioning these perhaps common sense may have a word to say. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it seems more natural, as it was more consistent with the usages of life, to presume that the elder brother should have given a grant of lands to his younger brother than otherwise. This consorts with general experience, and the facts referred to bear it out in substance. In a letter written by Sir John Ogilvy of Inverquharity to his brother-in-law, James, fifth Lord Ogilvy, dated

25th April, 1582, in which he agrees not to defend the Tack of the Tiends in Kirriemuir, he calls Lord Ogilvy "his guid Lord and Chief"; and nine years later, on 26th October, 1591, by a contract in which he gives his "bond of manrent and service" to "the said noble Lord and his house," he states, "of the quhilk he is laithlie descendit." These statements, frank enough in themselves, if not to the strictly legal mind convincing and persuasive, taken with this additional evidence, that in 1643, when the first Earl of Airlie raised the question of precedence over the Earl of Findlater, Charles I., being "ripely advised," issued a royal mandate to the effect that the Earl of Airlie was "the Chief of the Family and surname of Ogilvy," should be sufficient to decide a matter which from some unknown quarter and for some unknown reason has been placed in doubt.

During the Albany regency, with its nefarious plans, its selfish schemes, and its deceitful intrigues, Sir Walter Ogilvy was associated with that party at the head of which stood his stalwart brother, "the Gracious Gude Lord Ogilvy," that had as its chief purpose the restoration of James I. to his liberties and his kingdom. A man of upright integrity and unimpeachable honour, a true patriot and loyal to his rightful Sovereign, he disdained to countenance the undermining policy of the royal Duke, while he treated with contempt the weak son who succeeded him in the influential position of Regent. Hitherto he had been mainly concerned in his own affairs, establishing his own fortunes and laying the foundation of the family greatness, in all of which he had succeeded in a remarkable degree; but, on the death of Sir Alexander Ogilvy in 1423, he discovered the necessity, as he realised the obligation that rested upon him, for a more deliberate participation in the affairs of the nation, and especially at this time of the clamant need to have the exiled monarch placed firmly upon the throne. To this end, he bent all the energies and enterprise of his versatile mind.

The King came into his own in 1424. Of wise and sagacious instincts, he had, by his long residence in

England, and close observation of statecraft, acquired a knowledge of the art of government; and through frequent intercourse with such patriots as the Sheriff of Angus he had made himself intimately acquainted with the economic conditions of his native kingdom, so that when the time came for him to ascend the throne, he readily knew the weak points of the body politic, and dexterously moved in the direction of laying a solid foundation for the administration of the affairs of State. The first step of James I. was to choose out of the number of those who had been loyally attached to him, whose integrity was beyond reproach, a number of counsellors, whom he appointed to the chief offices of Government, and, being assured of their sincerity and goodwill, took them into his confidence. To them he disclosed his intentions and put them in possession of the policy he had determined to pursue. Of this group was Sir Walter Ogilvy, a loyal patriot, a shrewd man of business, a capable administrator, whom he appointed to the important position of Lord High Treasurer. If this mark of the Sovereign's approbation were a signal honour, the task itself was singularly onerous, and, to a less robust and resolute spirit, might have been prohibitive. The weak administration of Robert III., followed by the long and unscrupulous regency of his masterful brother, had reduced the country to a state of chaos. Every man was a law unto himself, while the great men ruled the law. Executive government was a byword and a reproach. Corruption was the order of the day. The public purse, owing to the fact that "the great Customs," or duties levied upon exports or imports of merchandise, had been squandered by various grants to private persons, was nearly empty; while the Crown lands had been shamelessly alienated in a like manner. The records of the first Parliament of this monarch are interesting reading, as showing the dilapidated condition of the country and the drastic measures that were taken to rehabilitate the affairs of State. Finance was the clamant necessity, and a long list of new taxes, comprehensive of the nation's resources, and widely varied in their character, from the

lands of the proud Baron to "the cow and calf" of the crofter, were imposed; the only exceptions being "riding horses, draught oxen, and household utensils." The Treasurer had an arduous task which, to judge by common experience, would be far from popular; but with the full consciousness that he had behind him the confidence and goodwill of His Majesty, he had in himself that strength of will and that moral courage which could rise to the height of a great duty.

It was while in office as Lord High Treasurer that he purchased the lands of Airlie, and immediately thereafter, on 1st May, 1431, received a license from James I. to erect his tower, or castle, into a fortalice. Now a man of note and a conspicuous figure in the country, this prominence carried with it in those days risks and dangers, when elevated station had to find ways and means of protecting itself. At that time, when might was right, even the strong man had to fortify himself against all possible attacks and take the law into his own hand. Perhaps it was for this reason that Sir Walter Ogilvy cast his eye on "the half-lands of Eroly," seeing they included in them an ideal site for a house that could easily be made into a stronghold. At least, his rise to prominence coincided with his purchase of Airlie, and one has only to visit the place to see how Nature contributed handsomely to its impregnability. By his marriage with Isabel Glen there was a family of five sons and two daughters; but of the former, only one, Walter, the eldest of the second marriage, has left any trace behind him. Inheriting at his father's death the lands of Wardropestoun in the Mearns, and Auchleven, Ardune, and Harlaw in Aberdeenshire, he further extended his influence by marrying Margaret, the only child of Sir John Sinclair, who brought to him the lands of Findlater and Deskford, and through him were descended the Ogilvy families of Boyne and Banff. In 1455 he obtained a royal license "to fortify the Castle of Findlater with an embattled wall of stone and lime and all other necessities for a place of strength." One of his descendants, Sir Alexander Ogilvy of Deskford, was raised to the

Peerage with the title of Lord Ogilvy of Deskford ; while his eldest son, who succeeded him, was, in 1638, created Earl of Findlater. Of the two daughters, Giles was married to Sir Robert Arbuthnot of Arbuthnot, while Isabel was married to Patrick, Lord Glamis, and, secondly, to Gilbert, first Lord Kennedy.

James I., at the meeting of Parliament that followed his accession, put in the forefront of his policy the recognition of religion as the paramount interest and duty of the people, commanding all men to honour the Church, declaring that its ministers should enjoy, in all things, their ancient freedom and established privileges. He set the example of supporting religious ordinances by every means in his power, and besides being a devout worshipper, gave liberally to their increased observance. In this respect he was followed by many of the nobles who had at heart the spiritual good of the nation. Sir Walter Ogilvy, a man of reverent mind, of sincere religious temperament, who, in addition to being an eminent patriot, was a loyal and devoted Churchman, took occasion to manifest his zeal for religion by founding a chaplainry within the Parish Church of St. Mary of Auchterhouse, endowing it with an annual payment of ten merks out of the lands of Kirktown of Essey and Keilour ; and with other ten merks out of the lands of Carcary. The Charter, which is dated at Edinburgh 28th January, 1426-27, is to the following effect :

“ for two Chaplains to perform Service for the good Estate of the King and Joanna, the Queen ; and for the souls of the forefathers and successors of the King, and for the soul of the late Sir Walter Ogilvy, father of the granter and his mother ; and for the soul of Isabel his late spouse, and the souls of his brothers, forefathers, and successors ; and the souls of those whom the said Walter had offended and to whom he had not made amends, as also for the souls of those who fell in the Battle of Harlaw.”

In 1430 Sir Walter Ogilvy was appointed Master of the Household, a position which he held in addition to that of Lord High Treasurer. He had reached this pinnacle of high statesmanship by virtue of his own inherent

merit, great moral worth, and genuine business capacity. He was unfailingly loyal to His Majesty, who was greatly attached to him and rewarded him with his confidence and favour. Indeed, at this time, he was one of the King's most trusted advisers. Two instances of the royal favour, as showing the high position he held in the counsels of the Court and in the country generally, remain to be mentioned. The truce with England was now at the point of expiring, and James I., anxious to concentrate his whole efforts upon the pacification of the northern part of the kingdom, where feudal disturbances had for some time been rampant, felt equally disposed with Henry VI., who had been embroiled with France and might in the near future be at war again, to negotiate for a renewal of the armistice, and to discuss the possibility of concluding a permanent peace. For this purpose, Sir Walter Ogilvy was appointed as head of a body of Commissioners from Scotland to meet a similar set of representatives from England, who, having met and fully discussed such danger-points as the lawlessness of the Border, and interference with each other's commerce, fisheries, and shipping, concluded a truce for five years, dating from 1st April, 1431. The other instance was five years later, on the occasion of the marriage of Princess Margaret to the Dauphin Louis. The betrothal of the Scottish Princess to the heir of the French Crown has already been dealt with. A mere child of four years of age, she had been given in plighted troth to the Dauphin in 1428, and now, having reached the age of twelve, she was about to enter the bonds of wedlock. It was an unfortunate alliance. Hailed on landing on the shore of France by the poetic fervour of Martin Lefranc,

“ Se de Madame la Daulphine  
Veuls parler veritablement,  
C'est une estoille clere et fine  
Mise en ce monde à parement,”

she soon became the victim of slanderous tongues and the worst of all kinds of abuse. On 27th March, 1436, Princess Margaret left her native land with great pomp

and splendour. Convoyed by the fleet under the command of the Earl of Orkney, Admiral of Scotland, she had as her suite the representatives of the most distinguished families in the country. In personal attendance was the Lord High Treasurer and Master of the Household—Sir Walter Ogilvy—accompanied by Sir Herbert Herries; Sir John Maxwell of Calderwood; Sir John Campbell of Loudon; Sir Thomas Colville; Sir John Wishart; Sir Andrew Gray of Foulis; Sir James Stuart, the Laird of Graham; the Master of Gordon; and several others. In addition to these, there were as attendants on the Princess a hundred and forty youths of the nobility, all clothed alike in handsome livery. The progress to Tours was a great spectacle, the Scottish retinue of the Princess producing a great impression on the crowds of sightseers that thronged the highway and lined the streets. After the marriage, Sir Walter Ogilvy spent a few months in France and Flanders, returning to Scotland in the late autumn. This, so far as known, was the last public function in which he was engaged. A few months later his royal master, a well-intentioned Sovereign and certainly the ablest who had reigned in Scotland since the days of Robert the Bruce, was foully murdered in the Abbey of Black Friars, Perth. With the death of the King, the political career of Sir Walter Ogilvy concluded. “Woe unto thee, O land, when thy King is a child!”—a prophetic utterance that was soon to receive ample fulfilment in intrigue and self-aggrandisement, for all which having neither taste nor sympathy, he retired into private life.

In less than three years he died. He had lived a strenuous life. Besides the administration of his extensive estates and the dispensation of the affairs of the Abbey of Aberbrothock, in which he took an active interest and over which he exercised a salutary influence, from 1424 till the spring of 1438, Sir Walter Ogilvy was in the full swim of the political life of the country, one of the King's most trusted counsellors, and indefatigable in his labours for the nation's good. By his indomitable courage as by his persistent loyalty to his ideal, he

attained, partly by royal favour but chiefly through his own intrinsic merit and capability, a foremost place in the ranks of statesmen of his day. He thus gave the family that he founded a good start. By the multitude of lands he acquired in several parts of the country, he laid broad and deep the foundation of the House of Airlie, as far at least as material prosperity was concerned, while by his lofty character, his widespread influence, his great distinction, his moral and spiritual worth, he left an inheritance to the Ogilvys of Airlie which they have graciously cherished, many of whom having lived over again the life of their great ancestor.

He died at Bolshan Castle some time in the year 1440, and was buried in the "Isle" of the Kirk of Kinnell.

## SIR JOHN OGILVY

FROM great national movements, the character of which was so pronounced as to create historic scenes, to the more restricted sphere of parochialism, with its plain and simple duties, its domestic outlook, and its provincial atmosphere, is the change that falls to be made in this instance in passing from father to son. Whatever may have been his talent, or whatever the gifts with which he was endowed, Sir John Ogilvy did not have the same golden opportunities of achieving greatness as fell to the lot of his distinguished parent. Even although in the buoyancy of his spirit he might wish to emulate the striking example of Sir Walter Ogilvy and invade the field of high politics, he was constrained by necessity to devote the early years of his life to matters pertaining to the family possessions, and to administer the affairs affecting the Abbey of Aberbrothock, of which he had been appointed Bailie-Depute in 1428.

The eldest son of Sir Walter Ogilvy by his first marriage with Isabel Durward, Sir John Ogilvy was born about the year 1402, but practically nothing is known of his boyhood and youth, or his education, though by the time he reached the age of sixteen, St. Andrews University had been established, and thus afforded facilities for the higher branches of learning which the nobility of Scotland readily appreciated, and of which they took advantage. With the exception of the lands which came into the family through the Lady of Inchmartin, of which Sir Walter Ogilvy had but the life-rent, all his other landed possessions fell in heritage to Sir John Ogilvy at his father's death. Shortly after his succession he acquired from George Guthrie of Guthrie "the half-lands of Eroly," thus reuniting the ancient barony; and on 3rd March, 1458, he received from King James II. a Charter in his favour in registration of "the whole lands

of Erolly and Castle of Erolly." About this time he exchanged with his half-brother, Walter, the lands of Wardropestoun in the Mearns for those of Balhall in Angus. At a later date, by way of consolidating his varied estates, he received a Charter, dated 28th January, 1482, uniting the lands of Lintrathen, Airlie, Garlot, Eassie, Formal, Fornochty, and Keilour in the county of Forfar, Wardropestoun and fishing thereof in the Mearns, and Kalinty and Fingask in the county of Perth, into one barony, to be called the Barony of Lintrathen. In this Charter he is styled Sir John Ogilvy of Bollischen (Bolshan).

The family or domestic history of this member of the House of Airlie is somewhat obscure. According to the Douglas Peerage, he is said to have married Marion, second daughter of Sir William Seton of Seton, who, it is generally supposed, was the son of Alan of Wyntoun, who married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Sir Alexander Seton of that ilk. The son, however, chose to be known by his mother's name, no doubt for family reasons as well as on the historical ground of preserving an ancient name. The date of the marriage is not recorded, nor is the length of their married life known; but it is comparatively certain that it issued in the eldest son, James, and four daughters. Sir John Ogilvy's second marriage is more authentic, as there is documentary evidence to show that he married Margaret, Countess of Moray, who is generally supposed to have been the widow of Thomas Dunbar, Earl of Moray, grandson of Robert II. The old Celtic earldom of Moray came to an end early in the reign of David I. A new creation, granted by Robert the Bruce to his nephew, Thomas Randolph, reverted to the Crown in the reign of David II. Robert II. conferred the earldom on his son-in-law, John Dunbar, brother of the Earl of March, who married, by dispensation of Pope Urban V., Marjorie, second daughter of His Majesty, whose son, Thomas, dying shortly after his marriage, left a childless widow in Countess Margaret. The date of her marriage to Sir John Ogilvy is not recorded, but, as will be seen presently,

she was his wife in 1447. By his second marriage with the Countess of Moray he had two sons. The most conspicuous member of the family, however, was the eldest son by the first marriage, who opens up a new interest in the House of Airlie by adorning it with a peerage :

1. James, first Lord Ogilvy of Airlie.

2. David, who is designated of Newtown, received from his father, with consent of his elder brother, on 1st June, 1468, an annual rent of twenty merks from the lands of Wardropestoun. With the exception that he may have been the youthful page of this name who accompanied Princess Margaret to France, nothing further is known of him.

3. Thomas, who entered the Church, and who is stated to have been "Chanter of Dunkell and afterwards Abbot of Cowpar." Although this statement is made on the authority of "Nisbet's Heraldry," the name of Thomas Ogilvy does not appear in the list of Abbots of St. Mary of Coupar. It is quite possible, however, that during the years 1447-1460 he may have held this office, as Thomas of Livingston is not mentioned as Abbot, but as "Com-mendator and Administrator of its lands and revenues," and in those days of rival Popes it may be that there was conflict among the Abbots.

4. Christian was married to Sir John Forbes of Pitsligo, grandson of Sir William Forbes of Kinaldy, younger brother of Alexander, first Lord Forbes.

5. Elizabeth, married to Sir Patrick Keith of Inverugie (Inverugie).

6. Marion, or Marjorie, was married to Henry Stewart of Rosyth. In a Charter dated 5th January, 1458-1459, Marjorie is mentioned as his wife's name.

The document referred to in connection with the Countess of Moray gives an echo of old Celtic customs. It is a curious deed relating to one of the bells of our Celtic Saints, which were held in great reverence throughout Scotland, and bears upon the peculiar polity of that age, both civil and ecclesiastical, of conferring on the line of hereditary keepers of such relics, lands and

privileges. Bells were introduced into Scotland at an early period, probably in the sixth century, and some of them were held in great veneration; wonderful virtues being ascribed to them in Romish times; being deemed very efficacious, after consecration, in scaring evil spirits, who were believed to fly in terror from the hallowed sounds. It was with reference to such superstitious fancies that Lindsay wrote in irony :

“ Whaever he be hears this bell clink,  
Gif me ane ducat for till drink,  
He shall never gang to hell.”

Most of these bells were dedicated to ancient Scottish Saints. The patron Saint of the adjacent parishes of Airlie and Lintrathen was St. Meddan, or, as he is sometimes called, St. Modan, who lived in the days of the Celtic King Congallus. The field of his labours was chiefly in the North-East of Scotland, where he exercised great influence and had the reputation of being “a gret prechour.” Yet he travelled far on his missionary labours and was known along the Ayrshire coast, so that in all likelihood he had drenched the Pictish tribes of the Midlands with the dew of his eloquence. Long after he was buried at Rosneath on the Gareloch the odour of his name continued to float over the Braes of Angus, and the timid inhabitants of Lintrathen, long before they had the privilege of a church, enjoyed the charms of the bell which they dedicated to St. Meddan. The custodiers were the Durwards, and it became hereditary in the family, passing to the Ogilvys on the marriage of Sir Walter Ogilvy to Isabel Durward, with the emoluments and lands that pertained to the holders. It appears that Sir Walter Ogilvy, retaining the superiority, had sublet the custody of the bell to Michael David, who, on 5th June, 1447, resigned the position of curator into the hands of Sir John Ogilvy of Lintrathen—the Superior of the sacred relic—who thereupon bestowed it “with its pertinents, fruits, and revenues, to Margaret, Lady Ogilvy, his spouse, for her life-rent use.” These emoluments consisted of “a house, or toft, near the Kirk of

Luntreithun," while the bell itself was carefully placed under her custody at Airlie Castle. The ceremony of investiture is quaintly described. Following upon a religious service in church, where the virtues of the consecrated bell were extolled and the mind of the custodier duly impressed with the deep responsibility of its custody, Lady Ogilvy was led in solemn procession to the Bell-house, where, having been given the feudal symbols of resignation of the property—earth and stone—she was left by herself, the locked door symbolising the exclusion of all worldly thoughts, when she remained for a considerable time in quiet meditation on the sacred trust that had been committed to her.

The bell of St. Meddan has long since disappeared. For more than two hundred years it found shelter and hospitality at Airlie Castle; but, like many other valuable things, it was buried in the débris after the burning of the Castle in 1640. In course of time it was resurrected by some person ignorant of its nature, value, or history, and the last trace of it was at a sale of furniture at the kirkton of Airlie early in the nineteenth century, where it was sold for a penny, no one at the time having the least idea of its great historical worth; and when at length the discovery was made, it was too late to recover it, as it had been broken up as a piece of old metal of no value.

Sir John Ogilvy succeeded to the hereditary office of Bailie of the Abbey of Aberbrothock on the death of his father. During the incumbency of the latter, peace reigned within the borders of the brotherhood, but soon after his death trouble arose, not among the brethren themselves but in the country generally, and of so turbulent a character that nothing was respected. After fourteen years of firm and stable government characterised by impartial justice, James I. was no sooner removed from the scene of action than the tumult of feudal war and the struggle of aristocratic ambition closed thickly upon the nation. The truce with England of 1431 had been renewed for an extended period, and this, together with the old alliance with France now strengthened by the marriage of Princess Margaret with the Dauphin Louis,

had relieved the fighting forces of the country of any chance of external war, with the result that, having no foreign enemy to fight, the nobles took to quarrelling among themselves. From Galloway to the North Sea and from the Western Isles to the Law of Berwick, the country was in a state of disorder which the Parliament of Stirling could do nothing to amend. The flood-gates of feudal hatred and clan antagonism, with their selfish and petty contests for power or of recrimination, were let loose, to such an extent that the authority of Government was openly insulted and the restraints of the law impugned. Neither life nor property was safe. Old feuds were revived and revenged, new ones were contracted. In the greater part of Scotland every Baron's territory was an armed camp. This being the condition of things generally, originating in private ambition, or resulting from old family feuds, it now falls to record in particular, as illustrating the manners of the time, what was the most determined and relentless conflict of the period. The Ogilvys, by their association with the Abbey of Aberbrothock and their occupancy of Bolshan Castle, were brought dangerously near the lands of the Lindsays. So far the two clans had lived on amicable terms, and their friendly relations had been strengthened by the marriage of the Chief of the Lindsays, the Earl of Crawford, to Margaret, only daughter of Sir Alexander Ogilvy, Sheriff of Angus. It was, however, through the fruit of this matrimonial alliance that the calamitous circumstances arose which led the two clans to throw down the gage of battle and to precipitate all the elements of a most bloody conflict, and so initiate a feud of incomparable rancour and of such persistent hostility and deadly hatred that it survived till the beginning of the seventeenth century. The commingling of the Ogilvy and Lindsay blood produced a wild, inflammable offspring in the person of the eldest son, who is known to history as "Earl Beardy" or "the Tiger." A rapacious youth, he developed those unlovable qualities of selfish ambition and inordinate lust for power, combining with them a cruel and an unscrupulous disposition, a hot

temper, and a revengeful spirit. Not the type of man, one would think, to fill with dignity and temperate impartiality such an office as that of Chief Justiciar of the religious house of Aberbrothock, to which the monks in a thoughtless humour had elected him. In a short time, owing to the Master of Crawford's reckless policy and extravagant expenditure rendering a change indispensable, the Tyronesian fraternity appointed in his place Sir Alexander Ogilvy of Inverquharity, first cousin of the Bailie. This deposition he took as a great offence, resented and challenged its validity, and reported his determination to retain the office at all cost; while Sir Alexander Ogilvy, on the other hand, supported by Sir John Ogilvy, the Protector of the Abbey, was equally resolute in maintaining his right to the position as having been elected by the free choice of the Chapter. There was only one way of settling such a dispute. Arbitration is a modern invention for mediating between such cross-currents of interest; but in those days it was never thought of as a means of adjusting differences; while resort to the justice or equity of law was too tame and spiritless for buoyant chivalry. The sword must decide; the only arbitrament was the clash of arms. Thus, the two clans immediately prepared for the inevitable contest. The Ogilvys were summoned from the Braes of Angus, the Lindsays from Brechin and Edzell and their contributory Glens. The latter was by far the more powerful clan in regard to numbers; but so far as fighting qualities went, the combatants were equally brave and determined, while both were fired by the hope of achieving victory in what was for them the first real pitched battle of the rival families.

On the eve of the conflict—which took place on the outskirts of Arbroath, 13th January, 1445—the Ogilvys received an unlooked-for accession to their strength in the person of Sir Alexander Seton of Gordon, who, returning from Court accompanied by a large body of his vassals, made Bolshan Castle the place where he should rest overnight. He arrived at the moment when the clan was mustering its forces for the coming battle, and,

although he was not personally interested in the dispute beyond the fact that he was brother-in-law to Sir John Ogilvy, by an ancient custom "which bound the guest to take common part with his host in all dangers which might occur so long as the food eaten under his roof remained in his stomach," he was compelled to assist the Ogilvys. The following morning they marched towards the Abbey town in full panoply of war, and came in sight of the enemy near its gates. While manœuvring for attack, an aged horseman, coming from the direction of Dundee, and riding at full gallop, rode between the lines of the opposing hosts as if he intended to interfere in the combat. An impetuous Ogilvy, enraged at his interference and ignorant of his person, at once attacked him, when he fell mortally wounded. If the feeling between the clans was strong before, it was now inveterate beyond endurance, for the aged horseman was no other than the Earl of Crawford, who, on hearing of the intended battle instigated by his firebrand son, rode for the scene of action in the hope of averting it. The untoward event naturally increased the bitterness of hostility, and, all restraint thrown aside, the Lindsays fought with the determination to avenge their Chief.

"At the loan o' the Leys the play began  
An' the Lindsays o'er the Ogilvys ran."

It was a fierce hand-to-hand struggle, the like of which had not been seen since the Battle of Harlaw. There was neither quarter given nor prisoners taken. It was kill or be killed. All day long it lasted without intermission, and when the shades of night fell athwart the combatants, five hundred Ogilvys lay dead upon the field and as many Lindsays, who, if they gained the victory by their vastly superior numbers, paid a high price for it.

There is a weird sequel to these tragic events. The Earl of Crawford, who had been, as it proved, mortally wounded, was conveyed on a litter to Finhaven Castle, where he then resided. The Countess of Crawford was an Ogilvy, as already stated; and, as showing the fierce character of the times, it is related that Sir Alexander

Ogilvy of Inverquharity being severely wounded and in a state of collapse, and seeing that he could not stand the long journey to his home on the banks of the Carrity, it was decided, unwisely as the result proved, to carry him to Finhaven Castle, where it was naturally believed he would receive hospitality from so near a relative. The opposite was the case. Margaret Ogilvy, Countess of Crawford, had been assiduous in her attentions to her wounded and dying husband, and it was only after the Earl's death on the morning following that she learned of the Laird of Inverquharity being in an adjoining bedroom in a dangerous condition. Instead of compassion she was furious, and like her ancestress, Finella, her only thought was vengeance for the murder of her lord. Returning to the Earl of Crawford's death-bed, she seized a down pillow, and rushing to the room where Sir Alexander Ogilvy lay helpless, she smothered him till he died.

The Ogilvys and the Lindsays, once they had opened up a feud, in the nature of things as in the spirit of the age, did not suffer it to abate any of its rancour. It grew still more bitter, if this were possible. If the Lindsays had won, the Ogilvys did not own to defeat. The latter blamed their clan tartan for the rout, declaring that it had too much of that unlucky colour—green; and so they changed their tartan, choosing a pattern without it, as—

“ An Ogilvy with green  
Should never be seen.”

And as if to try the luck of their new colours, they kept on fighting whenever and wherever a body of Lindsays presented themselves. So often were these clans at war, that the counties of Angus and Mearns were in a constant state of fever and commotion. So distressing was this perennial disturbance of the peace, that Cardinal Beaton, when Abbot of Aberbrothock at a later date, declared that unless the clans made up their quarrel and agreed to live at peace, he should be compelled to pronounce the curse of the Church upon them. As this warning went unheeded, it is alleged that he actually did so, to the

effect that "every future Lindsay should be poorer than his father," and that "every future Ogilvy should be madder than his mother." It would appear, however, as will be seen presently, that the illustrious prelate had no solid intention of harming either of them, or wishing them harm, as he effected very intimate alliances with both families in the near future.

If he did not take the conspicuous place in the affairs of State which his father had done, and was more parochial in his views and in the display of his energies, Sir John Ogilvy gave a proportion of his time to Parliament and served on several of its Commissions. One especially, on the subject-matter of which he was particularly interested, may be mentioned as serving to show the civil disability of the higher grades of the priesthood at this time under the law of Scotland. How or when it originated may only be conjectured, but from ancient times by common practice, described as "unusual," the movable goods, or personal estate, of a Bishop lapsed to the Crown upon his death, whether he died testate or intestate. In 1258, Pope Alexander IV. issued a Bull prohibiting the custom, but this, on the ground of policy, was subsequently recalled by his successor, Martin IV., in 1282, and the right of the Crown seems to have been unchallenged, notwithstanding the representations of the Scottish hierarchy, for more than a century afterwards; while the Schism in the Holy See practically closed the door against any redress from that quarter—at least, for the time being. Shortly after the accession of James I., the matter was raised in the Estates of Parliament, and Sir Walter Ogilvy, Lord High Treasurer, was sympathetic with the views of the clergy; but the clamant needs of the public purse forbade immediate redress. On James II. personally assuming the authority of government, the Bishops revived the case, with the result that Parliament appointed a Commission representative of the three Estates to hear the claims of the hierarchy. Sir John Ogilvy, representing the Commons, threw the whole weight of his influence in favour of what he called "an act of justice." A loyal Churchman, Bailie of the

Abbey of Aberbrothock, large-hearted, and of a generous disposition, he was all in favour of redress, and largely through his instrumentality the Bishops came into their own.

Bordering upon his eightieth year, he was appointed, 19th January, 1480, Bailie of the Abbey of St. Mary, Coupar. This office he held only for a year, when he resigned it in favour of Sir George Rattray of Rattray. The last few years of his life were spent in consolidating his widely-scattered possessions. He died in June, 1489, predeceased by his second wife, Margaret, Countess of Moray, some time in the seventies, and was buried in the "Isle" of the Kirk of Kinnell.

## JAMES, FIRST LORD OGILVY OF AIRLIE

FOR fully three hundred years the Ogilvys had taken a prominent place in the life of the nation, and had at length been rewarded and honoured for their loyal and patriotic service. It was but a foretaste of royal favour which at a later date received a more ample recognition from the Sovereign, it is true, but meanwhile, from what has already been recorded of their history, it will generally be considered that the elevation of the family to the Peerage was as richly deserved as it was generously bestowed. In the case of the House of Airlie, the idea that a family is, in some degree, what its ancestors have made it is handsomely illustrated. Loyalty to the throne was ever the ideal of the Ogilvys, and although, as one member of the family admitted, they had suffered "gryt skaith" in the royal service, nevertheless "thay flourishit ye better." The present instance, as will be seen, is a case in point.

James, Lord Ogilvy of Airlie, was the eldest son of his father's first marriage with Marion Seton of Seton, and was born at Airlie Castle in the neighbourhood of 1430, where he spent the first ten years of his life. Nothing is known of his youth or education, but his removal to Bolshan Castle on the death of his grandfather in 1440 and his proximity to the Abbey of Aberbrothock as a seat of learning, may readily suggest that he was carefully instructed in classical literature and especially in the laws and constitution of the country. At the age of twenty he made the "Grand Tour," on his return from which his father gave over to him the lands and Castle of Airlie, and he first becomes known as Sir James Ogilvy of Airlie. As he was a much married man, having no fewer than four wives, by three of whom he had children, one of them especially being notorious in the annals of history, it may

be advisable in the first instance to record his domestic and family affairs before seeking to pursue his public career, which, by way of caution it may be said here, was not as dramatic or gilded with high romance as might be expected. An able, level-headed person, cool, calculating, and deliberate, he seems to have inherited the statesmanlike qualities of his grandfather, and, though well past middle life, by the force of circumstances was led to take an active interest in public and State affairs. He was essentially a family man, living for over thirty years at Airlie Castle, keeping strictly aloof from the manifold subtleties of Court intrigue so prevalent at this time among the great Barons. He married, firstly, shortly after his return from his extended tour on the Continent, Elizabeth Kennedy, generally supposed to have been the sister of Gilbert, first Lord Kennedy, by whom he had two sons :

1. John, Master of Ogilvy, who will be referred to later.
2. Archibald, who proceeded to St. Andrews University, where he embarked on the study of Law, and was a well-known Procurator, or "Forspeaker," at the Bar of the Lords of Council, where he frequently appeared in noted cases of the time till well into the reign of James V. There was no dearth of cases in those days when raid and plunder were of common occurrence, and when it was known that the Lords of Council were ever ready to hear, and if right were found, to give redress to the meanest subject.

Lord Ogilvy married, secondly, Mary Douglas, daughter of Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus, who is known to history as "Bell-the-Cat." It was chiefly through his relations with the Douglas family that Lord Ogilvy was at length brought upon the scene of active political life. By his marriage with Lady Mary Douglas he had four sons and two daughters :

3. Walter, who formed a distinct branch of the family, known as the Ogilvys of Balfour, who survived till the beginning of the nineteenth century.

4. Alexander, who married Nicholace, daughter of

Alexander Stratoun of Lowranstone (Lauriston), whose forefathers at one time were in possession of "the half-lands of Eroly." In January, 1497, he and "Nicholace of Stratone, his spouse," raised an "accione and cause perseioit" "agane Alexander Stratoun for the wrangus postponyng and differing to delyver to the sade Alexander Ogilvy, sonne to James, Lord Ogilvy al and haile the twa pairt of the movable gudis that pertemit to umquhile Laurence Myddiltone of that Ilk, eftir the forme of his obligacione made to the sade Alexander Ogilvy thareupon . . . and to freith, releif, and keip the sadis Alexander Ogilvy and Nicholace, his spouse, hairmles and skaithless at the hands of David, Walter, and Alexander Myddiltone, sonnys of the sade umquhile Laurence." The Lords of Cousale decreed that Alexander Ogilvy and his spouse should receive "content" and be "hairmles and skaithless"; while Alexander Stratoun, "because he tynt his accione" was "distriwne for ane unlaw of XLs to be inbrocht to the Lordis."

5. Malcolm, of whom nothing is known.

6. John, the second of the name, of whom, beyond the statement that he was in the Craig, there is no record.

7. Isabella was married to Alexander Stewart, son and apparent heir to Sir James Stewart, Knight, Lord of Buchan and Auchterhouse by Dispensation, following a Bull of Innocent VIII., dated the Consistory of the Cathedral of Dunkeld, 10th January, 1490.

8. Margaret was married in 1482 at the Chapel of St. Ringan, Alyth, to Gilbert, grandson and heir of Sir Finlay Ramsay of Banff. The contract of marriage is dated 10th April, 1482, in terms of which the "tocher" was to be "contented and paid" within the aforesaid chapel at a given day.

Lord Ogilvy married, thirdly, Helen the Graham, but there was no issue of this marriage, and it is unknown when Helen the Graham died, but Lord Ogilvy, having turned his sixtieth year, married as his fourth wife Janet, daughter of Robert, Lord Lyle, Chancellor in the reign of James IV., who owned large tracts of territory in Renfrewshire. By this marriage he had two daughters:

9. Janet, in connection with whom there is a curious marriage contract, dated 1503, when she could be little more than thirteen years of age, which reflects either a most accommodating disposition or an entire indifference of an unusual character on such occasions. She therein contracts to marry Alexander, son and apparent heir to George Gordon, younger, of Midmar, or whom failing, to James, his brother, when old enough to complete a marriage with her, or failing her, with her younger sister. Whether a marriage took place between Janet Ogilvy and one or other of the brothers is not recorded.

10. Marion, the younger sister, achieved quite another destiny. As everyone who has a familiar acquaintance with the history of this period knows, and especially ecclesiastical history, Marion or Mariota Ogilvy, according to the representation of Churchmen, was the mistress of Cardinal Beaton and the mother of several of his children. Among historians of the Reformed faith, the relationship between them has generally been regarded in the light of simple and frank concubinage. If it were so, then nothing can be said in justification of it; but there are certain facts bearing on the situation which, if borne in mind, serve at least to mitigate the asperity of our judgment. These are, the state of the Church and the custom which for a long time existed among high ecclesiastics. As to the former, it must be admitted that it was frankly corrupt, and at best was little more than a secular institution. Religion was a by-product, while education and the economic affairs of the district were the chief concerns of the religious institutions. The priests were men of the world, frequently employed in trade, who gave a large proportion of their time, and thought, and energy to the business of their particular province; and it must be said of them that they in many respects led the way, and thereby set an example to the large landed proprietors in improving the system of land cultivation and the ordinary methods of transacting business. In a large measure, while this devotion to industry was mainly productive of good, the displacement of the spiritual ideal by the secular interest

was instrumental in lowering the moral tone of the servants of the Church to that of general citizens, giving rise to the biting satire : "'Tis thought that earth is more obliged to priests for bodies than heaven for souls."

But apart from the state of the Church, the custom of high ecclesiastics serves to show that the cohabitation of Cardinal Beaton and Marion Ogilvy was not regarded in the light of a scandal. It was, and had for long been, the general practice for exalted Churchmen to indulge the luxury of a wife, and in this they had the approval of the great Barons, who occasionally stipulated that the Abbot of the district should be married, or, if preferred, domesticated. The celibacy of Churchmen was introduced only towards the end of the eleventh century. Till the decree of Pope Gregory VII., all the clergy might either marry or have concubines; while even till the Council of Rheims, in 1148, monks might marry. Malcolm II. had only two daughters, the elder of whom, Bethoc, was married to Crinan, Abbot of Dunkeld, by whom she had a son, Duncan I., who for six years was King of Scots. It is not to be supposed that Malcolm gave his daughter in marriage unworthily. As the Church was now rich, its great benefices were sought after by men of the highest rank, who were courted by the nobility, and over whom they held precedence. For society reasons and for freedom of intercourse and social commerce, it was desirable that, while the ordinary priest should be a celibate, the Church dignitary should be married, and this was the general and recognised practice at this particular time. Cardinal Beaton's contemporary, Donald, Abbot of Coupar, uncle to the fourth Earl of Argyll, was a married man, and lived joyfully with the wife of his bosom at Arthurstone, and had a large family of sons and daughters. The relationship between David Beaton and Marion Ogilvy was that of husband and wife, united by a morganatic marriage which, though not countenanced by the Church as valid, was yet not contrary to the law of the land, being in the nature of a civil contract, or "irregular marriage." This view is borne out by Letters of Legitimation, dated

4th November, 1539, of the Cardinal's children by Marion Ogilvy.

David Beaton was Abbot of Aberbrothock when he entered the bonds of domesticity with this daughter of the House of Airlie. The date of the union<sup>1</sup> cannot be ascertained. It was not before 6th August, 1525, as at this date she was living at Airlie, where a short time before her mother, Janet Lyle, had died, according to a document of a testamentary character signed at "Airlie" by "Mary Ogilyvy" as "ye dochter executrix and intro-mittour of Jean Lyle, Lady Ogilvy, my modyr." It must, however, have been shortly after, as on 22nd May, 1528, David Beaton granted to Marion Ogilyvy, for certain sums of money and "other causes," the life-rent of the lease of the lands of Burnton of Ethie and others. He also granted to her, besides other benefactions, the lands of Melgund which he had purchased, and on which he had built the castle of that name. So far as known there were seven children, which are certified by documentary evidence as the children of Marion Ogilvy: four sons and three daughters. One of the sons, Alexander, received a grant from the Crown of the lands of Baikie, in 1539, in the forfeiture of the Glamis estates, which he lost on their restoration to the Glamis family in 1543. He became Archdeacon of Lothian and held the estate of Hospitalfield. The other sons were James and John. David, the eldest son, succeeded to Melgund on the death of his mother. The three daughters were Margaret, Agnes, and Mary; the eldest, Margaret, was married to David, tenth Earl of Crawford, the marriage contract being dated at St. Andrews, 10th April, 1546. The ceremony took place with princely magnificence at Findhaven Castle, the Cardinal giving his daughter away. The "tocher" was of unheard-of munificence, amounting to 4,000 merks, which in those days represented great wealth. Agnes was married, first, to John Ochterlony of Kelly, evidence of their union being still traceable on a corbel of the old house of Balmedies bearing the initials

<sup>1</sup> In "Genealogical Collections" it is stated: "He married by dispensation."

I.O. and the Ochterlony arms, and A.B. with the coat of Beaton of Balfour. She was married, secondly, to George Gordon of Gight, who, it is recorded, on 22nd November, 1577, sold lands to his wife, "Agnes Beaton, daughter of the late Mariota Ogilvy, 'domina de Melgund.'"

Mary was married to Alexander Lindsay of Vayne, in the parish of Fern, and had issue.

Cardinal Beaton has been described as the Wolsey of Scotland, a man of inordinate ambition and avarice, an adept in the arts of priestly and courtly intrigue: and filling as he did the highest offices in Church and State, he unscrupulously made them subservient to the aggrandisement of his family and party. A man of great talents, he aimed at supreme power in the State, and by allying himself with the Regent, Mary of Guise, and the French party, he set in opposition to himself the greater section of the nobility and the influence of the English Crown. With all who professed sympathy with Reformed doctrine, which was now taking fast hold of the people, he was a merciless persecutor, and, as such, was justly odious to them, while he made numerous enemies besides by his forceful interference in political matters. His tragic death was the result of the combined hatred and resentment of the Reformers, and largely instigated and encouraged by the English monarch, who recognised in him an opposing force which thwarted all his schemes. The feeling of the time in respect to him of a great majority of the nation has been expressed by Sir David Lindsay:

"As for the Cardinal, I grant,  
He was the man we well could want,  
And we'll forget him soon;  
And yet I think the sooth to say,  
Although the loon is weel away,  
The deed was foully done."

Marion Ogilvy was living at the Castle of St. Andrews with him at the time of the assassination, and was seen emerging from his room as the assassins were leaving. She returned to Melgund Castle, where she lived for the

next thirty years. The memorials of his union with her may still be read on the ruins of his castle. Over one window of a room of it are the Ogilvy arms, and over another window of the same room are the Beaton arms, while on the corbel of the stair leading to it are the Ogilvy arms with the initials M. O.

But apparently Marion Ogilvy did not long mourn the loss of her distinguished Cardinal. On 29th May, 1546, she was bereft of her lover, and by June, 1549, she appeared in Acts and Decrees as "Marion Ogilvy, the Lady of Melgund, the relict of the umquhill William Douglas." She survived till 1575, when she died, leaving a will in which she expressed the desire to be buried "in the Isle of the Parish Kirk of Kinnell quhair my predecessouris lys."

Lord Ogilvy added to his patrimonial acres by acquiring certain lands in the parishes of Craig, Inverkeillor, and Farnell; the last-named consisting of land adjacent to his property in Kinnell. During his father's lifetime he was appointed by the monks Chamberlain and Justiciar of the Abbey, and at his death succeeded to the hereditary office of Bailie. He seems to have been in great favour with the brotherhood, as he was in addition appointed Bailie of the Regality of Brechin. Up to this time he was chiefly engaged in provincial government and the development of his estates. He was possessed of talents which might have led him into a wider field, and the reason why he remained in the more restricted sphere may have been the lack of opportunity. This came to him late in life, when he was bordering on his sixtieth year, but he embraced it with alacrity, and with all that passion for loyalty inherent in the Ogilvy nature.

James III.—a perplexing figure in Scottish history weak and avaricious, unwise as he was unwarlike, whose imprudent choice of friends, combined with a total lack of courage, brought upon him the odium of a large section of the nobility who resented the one and held him in contempt for the other—paid the usual penalty of effeminacy—revolt and rebellion.

Without entering into the long story of James's weak

ness and avarice and inconsiderate policy generally, which alienated many who were friendly and increased the rancour of those who were hostile, it may be said that in consequence of these and other causes of distemper a league was formed of the discontented lords, who were apprehensive that the King would find means to avenge the slaughter of his favourites and the restrictions placed upon his own person. It was a formidable combination, comprising most of the great Border Barons who had collected their forces and were ready to take the field. On hearing of the approach of such an army, James, after fortifying Stirling Castle, where he left his son in charge of the Governor, fled to the Midlands and North of Scotland to the Ogilvys, the Lindsays, the Grahams, the Ruthvens, the Gordons, and the Murrays of Atholl, all loyal to the Crown, who instantly rallied to support the authority of the Sovereign. Sir James Ogilvy of Airlie as he yet was, though well into years when most men hesitate to adventure the hazards of the battlefield, immediately collected the men of Angus, and at their head joined the Royal Standard. The other noblemen followed in like manner, when an army approaching the number of thirty thousand was speedily assembled and marched for Stirling. Meanwhile the insurgent Barons had contrived a scheme whereby they sought to impress their action with an air of authority. Obtaining possession of Prince James, then a youth of fifteen, on the plea that his father was bringing Englishmen into the country to overthrow its liberties, in his name they declared war against the King. The armies came in sight of each other not far from the historic scene of Bannockburn. Sir James Ogilvy, with his men from the Braes of Angus, was on the right wing under the command of the Earl of Crawford and Lord David Lindsay. The Ogilvys and the Lindsays might have their domestic differences, their rivalries and their racial feuds, but in a cause that appealed to both alike, to their patriotism, to their sense of honour, to their courage and fighting qualities, they could be companions-in-arms, brothers on the field of battle—their only rivalry to excel in brave deeds.

James III., ever faint-hearted, timid and effeminate, trembled at the sight of so fierce a conflict, but when he saw his own banner in the ranks of the enemy and learned that his son was in arms against him, his heart altogether failed him, and, mounting the fast horse which Lord Lindsay had given him in case of defeat and pursuit, he fled towards Stirling. Thrown from his horse, an enemy in the guise of a priest foully murdered him. On the news of the King's death, hostilities ceased.

James IV., when he came to understand how he had been deceived by the insurgent lords, and to reflect that, by his presence in the field against his father, he was in some degree accessory to his death, deeply repented the crime, and, as might be expected, regarded with favour that section of the nobility who had taken up arms in defence of their Sovereign. Two years later, when it was determined by Parliament to send an embassy to France for the purpose of renewing the alliance with that kingdom and confirming the commercial privileges mutually enjoyed by the French and Scottish merchants, after which the Ambassadors were to proceed to the Court of Spain, or other parts, to seek a bride for the young King, and also to the Court of Denmark with the object of renewing the amicable relations between the two countries, Sir James Ogilvy was appointed Ambassador to Denmark, where he displayed such prudence and conducted the negotiation committed to him with such diplomatic skill and sound judgment, as Balfour states in his "Annals":

"quho did so brauly carey himselve ther, and with sich dexterity and wisdome performed his business, to the King's contentment, so that for his guid service, at his return, he was created Lord Ogilvy."

He was raised to the Peerage on 28th April, 1491.

"In Barone and banrent, a Lord of his Parliament, and he and his heirs to be callit and nominat Lord Ogilvy of Airlie in all tyme to cum, with all prerogatives and privileges."

For the next few years he was assiduous in the discharge of his Parliamentary duties, and he was eminently fitted

for the work of the Legislature. When it is recognised that at this period many of the great Barons could neither read nor write, inasmuch as Lord Ogilvy, after the manner of his House, had received a liberal education, he was in a position not only to appreciate but to be helpful in furthering certain proposals which came before the Parliament. The invention of the art of printing and the establishment of the Caxton Press in England a quarter of a century before this time gave a great impetus to the desire for education. The effect of "the new learning" at Oxford reached Scotland, with the result that education, if in a limited form, was made compulsory. Besides attending Parliament, Lord Ogilvy sat as a Lord of Council, which, as may be gathered from its "Acta," was the equivalent of a Court of Justice. After the type of his grandfather, Sir Walter Ogilvy, he was more a statesman than a soldier; more inclined for the cool work of administration than the heated passion of the field. The last recorded incident of his life was in the year 1500—a small matter, trivial it may be thought, but it reflects his conciliatory disposition as well as his cautious manner, as the straw shows how the wind is blowing. Lord Lovat was the possessor of a property adjacent to Lord Ogilvy's estate of Bolshan, while both marched with lands owned by Lord Glamis. Frontiers have ever been points of danger among nations, and estate boundaries among landed proprietors. There was a dispute, and the cause of it was the carting of fuel, or peat, at the point where the three estates met. Lord Lovat's tenants, in order to avoid committing a trespass, had to make a long detour by reason of the ford of a watercourse being a considerable distance from the peat-bog. It was a matter for accommodation, but strong feeling had been engendered, and in those days it had but one outlet—a stand-up fight. Lord Glamis had interdicted any interference with the burn, and the clash of arms was imminent, when Lord Ogilvy appeared upon the scene, and in conciliatory speech advised the disputants to desist from strife, giving the promise that he would consult with Lord Glamis as to the easiest way of leading

their fuel. This conciliatory spirit, exotic of the period in Scotland, shows the manner of man he was—shrewd, peace-loving, diplomatic, and, withal, broad-minded and generous-hearted; serving to confirm Balfour's description of his ambassadorial mission to Denmark, where he "did so brauly carry himselve, and with sich dexterity and wisdome performed his business, to the King's contentment."

Lord Ogilvy died in the spring of the year 1504, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, survived by Janet Lyle, Lady Ogilvy, who, with her two young children, had her life-rent of Airlie Castle. He was buried beside his father and grandfather in the "Isle" of the Kirk of Kinnell.

## JOHN, SECOND LORD OGILVY OF AIRLIE

It would be expecting too much to look forward to a succession of distinguished men of equal merit, of the same outstanding ability and of similar qualities of disposition and temperament, in any family, even the most noted and illustrious. Apart altogether from those "diversities of gifts" of which an Apostle wrote as distinguishing the relative ministries of life, and which are as applicable to the several generations of a family as to the callings and pursuits of the world, there may not have been the same opportunities to call forth whatever power they might possess, or offer the occasion for the display of inherent ability. It is generally true that there is a tide in the affairs of men, but "the flood" which "leads on to fortune" is seasonal, and in this respect may be adventitious. Similar situations will arise as our history proceeds—as, indeed, they have already occurred—when there will appear an actual disparity of talent, and a comparable difference and inferiority of character; but in the present case, if Lord Ogilvy did not succeed in leaving any lasting impression upon his time, it was for the two substantial reasons that for the most part of his life he was overshadowed by his great-parent, who loomed so largely on the political horizon, and when he at length succeeded to the family honours, he only enjoyed their tenure for less than two years. But his life was neither barren nor unfruitful.

Born at Airlie Castle about 1453, he was the eldest son by the first marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of the first Lord Kennedy. Practically nothing is known of his youth, or education, or the general equipment of his life. The loss of the family papers at the burning of Airlie Castle deprives this narrative, at this particular period,

of those domestic touches which help so much to reveal the character and disposition of the individual, and enable one to make a close acquaintance and hold fellowship with him, as will be done shortly. Lord Ogilvy first emerges into notice in 1472 as "Schir Jhone Ogilby of Fyngask." The likelihood is that, according to the custom of the family, as in the case of his father, who on attaining manhood was given the lands of Airlie, from which he took his designation, so on reaching his nineteenth year, and it seems likely on the occasion of his marriage, Lord Ogilvy received the estate of Fingask in Perthshire, and during his father's lifetime was known as "of Fingask," and sat as a Lord of Council, according to the Sederunt of that body, with the title of "Baron Ogilvy of Fyngask." He married Jean, elder daughter of William, second Lord Graham, and his wife Amie Douglas, daughter of George, fourth Earl of Angus; Lady Ogilvy's brother being the first Earl of Montrose. By the marriage there was a family of two sons and two daughters :

1. James, Master of Ogilvy, whose career will be narrated in due course.

2. Anthony, who entered the priesthood, and for a time was Rector of Inchbrayok. Under date 14th October, 1516, he was granted by instrument of sasine "certain tenements in Brechin apud monte in farine" (probably the Sheiling Hill. Four years later, on 22nd September, 1520, there is a tack of the Chaplains of the Choir of the Cathedral Church of Brechin in his favour of a tenement in Brechin which he occupied. The date of his promotion is unknown, but he became Abbot of Glenluce.

There is confusion over the names of the daughters. According to Douglas, the elder of the two was named—

3. Elizabeth, who was married to William Wood of Bonnyton, near Arbroath. The Scots Peerage gives her name as Margaret, and asserts that by this name she was known as his spouse in 1529. The Woods were an old Aberdeenshire family, "heritable constables of the Castle of Kincardine and Fettercairn," "Knights of

Colpney," and acquired the property in Angus by marriage with the heiress of Tulloch of Bonnyton. They make a dramatic appearance later in this history, and it may be well to remember this family alliance in view of future exploits.

4. The second daughter was named Janet, and is stated to have married Walter Lichtoun of Ulyshaven. It may be recollected that the Lichtouns were closely related to the Ogilvys; Walter Lichtoun being "the uterine brother" of Sir Walter Ogilvy, Sheriff of Angus. Whether she was an additional daughter of the marriage of Lord Ogilvy and Jean Graham, or, what is more likely, an offspring of nature, there is among the "Contracts" in the Cortachy Inventory, under date 28th May, 1502, "a dispensation by James, Archbishop of St. Andrews and Duke of Ross for the marriage of Walter Lichtoun a laic and Marjorie, a woman, both in the Diocese of St. Andrews, related in the fourth degree." The dispensation is witnessed by John, Earl of Mar, and William Preston, Vicar of Glamis. On the back of the document the name of the "woman" is stated as "Marjorie Ogilvy."

Fingask, acquired by Sir Walter Ogilvy in 1403, was picturesquely situated on a terrace near the base of a hill that overlooked the fertile Carse of Gowrie, within ten miles of the Fair City of Perth. There was an ancient castle, said to have been built in 1194, part of which constitutes a large portion of the present mansion. This property remained in the Airlie family till the middle of the sixteenth century, when it was sold, in 1567, to Patrick Thriepland, Treasurer of Perth. It was to Fingask Castle that the young Master of Ogilvy took his bride of the illustrious House of Graham, and where he lived most of his married life, and where his children were born. Whatever may have been his personal qualifications, he at least shared in the reflected honour of his father, as, in 1493, he was an Envoy of James IV. to England, who granted him and those accompanying him on the mission a safe-conduct between that country and Scotland. The object of the envoyage was to court good

relations with Henry VII. Notwithstanding repeated truces, strengthened by negotiations and proposals of marriage for the young Sovereign, the good understanding with England was neither cordial nor sincere. The insurgent nobles who had misled James IV. into rebelling against his father, now that they had been displaced by others, had opened up treasonable intercourse with the English King, who favoured, and was suspected of encouraging, their designs of seizing the person of James and so obtaining the power of government. It was the policy of his counsellors, notwithstanding their knowledge of the plots in agitation against him, to maintain the peace with their southern neighbours. It was only in appearance, as after-events proved, but meanwhile, on the ground that "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof," Lord Ogilvy's mission fulfilled its immediate purpose of preserving for the time, at least, something like friendly relations.

In 1496 he took his seat as a Lord of Council, and sat continuously till the year 1504. By 1498 he is designated "Baron of Fingask."

On succeeding to the title and estates on the death of his father in 1504, Lord Ogilvy took up his residence at Bolshan Castle as Bailie and Justiciar of the Abbey of Aberbrothock. The association of the family with this property had behind it an interesting historical sentiment. One of the seats of the ancient Mormaers of Angus, forfeited to the Crown on Gillebride being declared an outlaw, but restored to him by William "the Lion" on 31st October, 1343, Margaret, Countess of Angus, bestowed the lands of Bolshan on the Monastery of Arbroath "for the welfare of the soul of her deceased lord, John Stewart, Earl of Angus." It was now the chief seat of the House of Airlie. But Lord Ogilvy's tenure of the family honour and their principal residence was brief. Still in the flush and pride of his manhood, bordering on his fifty-fourth year, and scarcely two years after the death of his father, he died at the Castle of Bolshan in the year 1505, and was gathered to his fathers in the Kirk of Kinnell.

## JAMES, THIRD LORD OGILVY OF AIRLIE

OUR narrative has reached a period when the temptation is great to enter on a general survey of the state of the country in its intellectual, social, political, and religious aspects, and to describe the habits, customs, and manners of the people, since it may now be said that the nation had slowly emerged from a state of barbarism into something like an approach to civilisation. The field, however, is so wide that only a cursory glance of the situation is possible. A Frenchman who visited Scotland exactly a century before, in the reign of Robert III., reported that the country "was rather desert than inhabited, and more abundant in savages than in cattle," while another described it as "rich in flesh, fish, and milk, but mountainous and strange is the country, and the people rough and savage." The latter suggests—what indeed was the case—that the economic condition of the country was pastoral rather than agricultural; flocks and herds, as among the ancient Jewish patriarchs, being the chief source of wealth, as attending them was the main employment. "It is a cold country," wrote another foreign visitor so late as the middle of the fifteenth century, "fertile of few sorts of grain, and generally void of trees." Oats and barley were the only "sorts of grain" cultivated; the one for the staple bread, the other the national beverage. But "ill blows the wind that profits nobody": James I., by his enforced residence in England, had become acquainted with a more advanced civilisation, which, on his return to his native country, enabled him to see the defects of his people, and to direct them in improving their condition. To give a greater variety of food, he enacted that a proportion of every holding should be cultivated, and in addition to oats and

barley, wheat, peas, and beans were to be sown. Gardens sprang into being and vegetables were grown which, down to the beginning of the eighteenth century, were called "herbs." The King of Scots set the fashion in respect to dietary, and the nobles speedily followed his example. In addition to the time-honoured oatmeal porridge and cakes, meat boiled with meal and a few vegetables was the common diet, while the nobleman augmented this fare by the large supplies of game, fur and feather, with which his lands abounded. Besides the home-brewed ale and distilled liquor, imported wines and other luxuries were now the fashion among the better classes. With his experience of the splendour of the English Court, aided by a sympathetic English Queen, James introduced some of the more refined customs of that Court; appeared in public in royal robes, while his consort dressed magnificently. The great lords and their womenfolk were quick to follow the royal example. Hitherto the manners of the Barons were as rough as they can be painted—rude, uncouth, and barbarous; and though far from anything like refinement, there was now at least an attempt at being considerate and deferential. Education was spreading by leaps and bounds. St. Andrews University had kindled the desire on the part of the nobles to have their sons educated. Theology, philosophy, canon and civil law, were the subjects chiefly taught; and as showing how widespread the ambition was, Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities were established during the fifteenth century, while Edinburgh soon followed. The common people, too, had their opportunity, many of the great landlords establishing schools in their particular districts, largely at their own expense. In respect to religion, the first mutterings of unrest and dissatisfaction were being heard, which swelled into a deep diapason of discontent and distrust, that found a full voice later when a Lord Ogilvy was found in the front ranks in defence of righteousness and truth. But what was never absent from the minds of the Scottish people was the thought of war. Up to this time and for a hundred and fifty years after, they had never known

what it was to be at peace for any considerable length of time. If they were not at war with the enemy, they were certain to be fighting among themselves. Learning from English soldiers that archery had always given them an advantage over the Scottish armies, James I. instituted this arm of the service; butts being erected near every parish church for practice with the bow and arrow, while wapinshaws were held at the chief centres of the several regalities by way of friendly rivalry in the art. The Lowlanders, however, did not take kindly to the bow and arrow; they were wedded to the sword, the spear, and the battle-axe; and after a short time, while the Highlanders, who had adopted with enthusiasm this instrument of war, had developed a marvellous proficiency and were able to send a body of ten thousand archers to support James III. at the Battle of Sauchie Burn, it had fallen into desuetude in the Lowlands. James IV., convinced that the relations between his country and England were, notwithstanding a show of friendship, precarious, now proposed to resuscitate the practice of archery among the Lowland clans, and Lord Ogilvy as Bailie of the Regality of Brechin was appointed to organise the forces and superintend the wapinshaw.

Of his lordship's early life little is known. The first recorded incident is that of his marriage, which is interesting. The long-standing feud between the Ogilvys and the Lindsays, which, by the union of their forces in support of the Crown, had gradually diminished in rancour, was now, for the time being at least, practically reconciled. Whatever may have been the effect of the appeal of Cardinal Beaton, their companionship in arms in a common cause had brought the Norman Lindsay and the Celtic Ogilvy together on something like friendly terms. Now the marriage of Lord Ogilvy to Isabel, daughter of Alexander, seventh Earl of Crawford, united the families, so long estranged, in friendly intercourse, and in the near future their forces in a costly struggle. By this marriage there was a family of three sons and four daughters, of whom, with the exception of the eldest son and heir, there is little to record.

1. James, Master of Ogilvy, who will come on for review later.

2. John, of whom nothing is known.

3. Archibald, who was Bailie-Depute to his nephew, Lord Ogilvy, in Coupar.

4. Mary, who was married to David Lyon of Cossins.

5. Isabel, who was married to David Strachan of Carmylie, a man of enterprise who, as showing the mode in which the young were instructed before the institution of parish schools, on 5th March, 1500, endowed a chaplainry there and made provision that the Chaplain shall be bound continually to keep a school for the instruction of youth.

6. Beatrice, who was married to David Gardyne of Leys.

7. Margaret, of whom nothing is known.

Lord Ogilvy was served heir to his father "in the Baronies of Lintrathen and others" before a jury at Dundee on 13th October, 1505. At the time he would be about thirty-two years of age. In addition to the hereditary offices, he became a Lord of Council and an active Member of Parliament. As explanatory of the functions of the former tribunal, a case was recently mentioned for the double purpose of recording an incident in the late lord's career, and giving an example of the cases that were submitted to it; but it may be advisable now to give some idea of the origin and constitution of that body. Before the time of James I. the administration of justice, notwithstanding the fact that there was a clearly prescribed code of laws, was as precarious as it was ineffectual. So far as the great Barons were concerned, public laws were ignored; they were a law unto themselves, and private revenge against the person who had incurred their displeasure was the only justice they would recognise. James I., in this as in many other ways, inaugurated a more impartial system by instituting a regular court of law, to which he gave the name of Lords of Session. The Judges were capable persons chosen from among the Estates of Parliament, whose jurisdic-

tion extended to all matters of civil causes, and being a Committee of the Estates their judgment was final. But, inasmuch as this Court met only three times in the year and for forty days at a time, James IV., to remedy both inconvenience and delay, appointed other Judges, called Lords of Council, who sat continuously in "Daily Council" and were invested with similar powers to those of the Lords of Session. These Lords of Council were not necessarily Members of Parliament, but were chosen in the first instance on the strength of the known probity of their character, their judicial fitness, their social standing, and not least their loyalty to the Crown. Lord Ogilvy, on succeeding his father in the estates and honours, took his seat as a Lord of Council, and continued to act with conscientious fidelity till his life was cut short in that melancholy disaster to Scottish arms and to the flower of the Scottish nobility.

On 7th September, 1510, Lady Glamis renounced all the rights which she had to the lands of Wester Coul, Middle Coul, Balentore, and Formal, lying in the barony of Lintrathen, to Lord Ogilvy "in place of the Friars of Dundee." The deed was witnessed by, among others, "Andrew Russell, a religious and learned man, Professor in sacred Theology, and Guardian of the Brothers of Dundee." Nearly two years later, on 26th May, 1512, he purchased from Thomas Ogilvy of Clova, for the sum of one hundred merks, the reversion of Raverny in Lintrathen. By these acquisitions the whole barony, at one time the territory of the ancient House of Durward, came to be included in the Airlie estates.

The following year saw the termination of a useful and promising life. Death reaped a great harvest among the nobility of Scotland in the year of God 1513. Flodden was a great disaster as it is an unwholesome memory. Against the advice of his wisest counsellors and contrary to the opinion of the Estates of Parliament, James IV., resenting the contemptuous treatment of him by his brother-in-law, took occasion, when Henry VIII. was at war with France, to invade England with a royal army. The quarrel was strictly a personal one between

the two Sovereigns, who were much akin in the obduracy of their temperament. Incensed, among other things, by the fact that the English monarch's obstinate refusal to deliver to his sister, the Queen of Scotland, a valuable legacy of jewels which had been left her by her father's will, the King of Scots nourished his passion for revenge. Inopportunately for the peace of the country, an appeal from the French on the strength of the old alliance to intervene on their behalf, backed by a flattering and seductive letter from the Queen of France, who avowed herself his mistress and lady-love, and sending him a ring from her own finger, so inflamed the romantic gallantry of James IV., that, according to the spirit of chivalry of that age, he felt that in honour he could not refuse her request. Thus, war with England became inevitable, much to the reluctance of the great body of the nobility, who, opposed to the proposition, were yet warmly attached to the person of the Sovereign in a measure and to a degree hitherto unknown to the occupant of the Scottish throne.

Against their own judgment, yet out of affection and loyalty to the King whose popularity was so great, the nobles from one end of the country to the other devotedly obeyed his summons and rallied to his standard. There were few of the great Barons who were physically equal to the ardours of such a campaign that did not respond to the call of their Sovereign, and most of them were accompanied by their sons of military age to swell the ranks of the royal army. Perhaps never in the history of the country did a King of Scots lead such an array of nobility across the Border as did James IV. on this occasion, and never for less reason or cause shown, and certainly when they had so little heart for the fight. Taking advantage of an open country, the Scots speedily obtained possession of the Border fortresses, and ransacking the district collected great spoils. This initial success proved to be their ruin. While the Earl of Surrey was collecting the men of the Northern Counties to join forces with his son, the Lord High Admiral, who had disembarked a large body of soldiers at Newcastle,

the rank and file of the Scottish army, as was their habit, began to melt away; many on finding their provisions exhausted, but most of them returning home to place their booty in safety. The result was that when the armies came in sight of each other, as Lord Patrick Lindsay stated to the Council of Nobles, "so many of our common people have gone home that few are left with us but the prime of our nobility." Outnumbered, they were soon overpowered. It is known that Lord Ogilvy and his clansmen were in the Angus division under the command of the Earl of Crawford, which Stanley had defeated with great slaughter, what remained of them falling back upon the main body commanded by the King. At length, assailed on both flanks, the Scots formed into a circle and fought obstinately, although the carnage amongst them was dreadful. Twice wounded by arrows, James IV. fell to an English bill, but not before a heap of brave Barons and men of rank had died in his defence. The loss of the Scots in this fatal battle had been computed at ten thousand, which included a large proportion of the nobility, and gentry, and landed yeomanry of the country. As Lord Ogilvy was never heard of after Flodden, he may with certainty be classed among the dead—the victim of the most calamitous adventure in Scottish history. In the prime and flower of his manhood, in the strength and courage of his years, at the age of forty; in the glorious company of the pride of the nation's valour and chivalry, and with a loyalty and devotion to the Sovereign which has never been surpassed, Lord Ogilvy paid the penalty of his life for his attachment to the ideal of his House.

## JAMES, FOURTH LORD OGILVY OF AIRLIE

THE Battle of Flodden was fought on 9th September, 1513, and a month later when the Estates of Parliament met at Perth, a painful sight was witnessed, giving token of the awful ravages death had made in the ranks of the Legislative Assembly. The section of the House assigned to the Lords, save for the very few who under cover of darkness had escaped the field of carnage, was almost empty; great gaps were seen among the representatives of the burghs, the Parliament being composed chiefly of the clerical element; but here, too, were many vacant places. A full list of the casualties of Flodden has never been forthcoming, while for a time subsequent to the battle the uncertain fate of many caused hesitation and delay in many successions to lands and titles. It was natural in many cases where authentic testimony of death was absent to hope even against hope till it was in vain to hope longer, and presumption of death was inevitable. Lord Ogilvy was a case in point. Some time elapsed before he assumed the title and took over the estates. Indeed, it was not till 29th November, 1524, at Forfar, before Gilbert Gray and Robert Maule of Panmure, Sheriffs-Depute, and a jury composed of Lord Glamis, William Ouchterlony of that ilk, George Haliburton of Gask, Patrick Ogilvy of Inchmartin, and several others, that he was served heir to his father in the Barony of Lintrathen and other lands. The ecclesiastical authorities of Aberbrothock, however, were more easily persuaded of the loss of their civil head, as on 1st April, 1514, Alexander Crale, Sub-prior of the Monastery of Arbroath, presented a Commission in favour of Lord Ogilvy, appointing him "Justiciary, Chamberlain, and Bailie of the Regality of Arbroath for five years on the

narrative of the great disturbances and urgent necessities, especially of these times in which they were destitute of the pastoral government, and also that they might serve God more quietly." The Regality of the Cathedral of Brechin adopted the same course; and as Lord Ogilvy was a sincere Churchman, adhering fervently to the ancient faith and ritual at a time when Reformed doctrines were making rapid headway, he was in high favour with the dignitaries of the Church, who appointed him, on 4th May, 1522, "Conjunctly and severally, with James Master of Ogilvy," Bailie of Coupar Abbey and the Convent of St. Mary "for nineteen years from the date of the Charter," assigning to him "£6 13s. 4d. yearly out of the lands of Ardermy, also their annual rents of Eglismaldy and Gardyne."

In 1526 Lord Ogilvy took his seat as a Lord of Parliament. It was an unpropitious time for an independent mind to embark on the stormy sea of party politics. The death of James IV. created the situation, to which the Scottish people had been for long accustomed, of having a child-King, and all that complicated scheme of selfish intrigue to which it was subject. James V., at the age of a year and five months, was crowned at Scone, and the regency of the kingdom committed to the Queen-Mother, sister of Henry VIII. This position she forfeited by her marriage within a year, in August, 1514, to the Earl of Angus, giving place to the Duke of Albany, at that time residing in France, who was recalled by the Parliament to take the government of the kingdom. The sympathies of the Duke were altogether in favour of French influence, whereas the Earl of Angus was in league with the English Sovereign. The consequence was, as might be expected, not only a bitter hostility between Margaret and the Governor, but the nobility began to divide themselves into two factions—the English and the French contending for the direction of affairs. Lord Ogilvy was frankly on the side of the old alliance, and as frankly hostile to the designs of Henry VIII. But the Duke of Albany, more a Frenchman than a Scot, in vain attempting to thwart and overcome the

persistent exploitation of the English Court, and finding that the more turbulent and aggressive section of the nobility was inimical to his French bias, had returned to France mortified by the irreconcilable state of the parties. He was, however, soon called upon to return from a quarter he would have least expected. Queen Margaret, as fickle as she was frail, had quarrelled with her royal brother, and, being a woman of strong passion and fiery temper, resolved to oppose his policy. She had also left her husband and was taking action for divorce. In these circumstances, in a spirit of hostility she turned her eyes towards France, and invited the Duke of Albany to return and resume the government of the kingdom. Reinstated in his former position as Governor and learning nothing from his past failure, he resumed his anti-English policy, which, as might be expected, revived the contest of parties to an enhanced degree of bitterness. Instigated by the French monarch, whose interest it was to maintain at all hazards the hostility between England and Scotland, the Regent was given great supplies of money, arms, and other provisions for war with that country; but as in his former attempt, so now he failed miserably, with the result that most part of the nobles being arrayed against him, he, in the month of May, 1524, resigned his office and left Scotland for good. After a time, during which the regency was in commission, when Margaret Tudor displayed the same ample facility of changing her husbands as her brother had his wives, and having by her rash exploits in matrimony alienated the body of the nobility, the Earl of Angus, grandson of "Archibald-Bell-the-Cat" and discarded husband of the Queen, a man of bold adventure, unflinching courage, and unscrupulous to the core, obtaining possession of the person of the young King—then the recognised method of effecting a change of administration—at once proceeded as supreme authority to transact business in the name of James V., who, having attained the age of fourteen, was declared to have "authority Royal." The Douglas Government was frankly English, as partial and partisan as

it could be made—a close corporation of the Douglasses, so that Lord Ogilvy, a friend and lieutenant of Cardinal Beaton, who hated Henry VIII., who already was showing scant courtesy to the Church, found himself in the cold shades of opposition. A man of strong mind and deliberate purpose, he strode across the Douglas policy with a treaty with England, hostility to which was now inflamed by all the heated passions of religious feeling, but this was carried through over the heads of what must now be called the Catholic party. Argument being in vain, traditional patriotism being despised, there was nothing left but a resort to arms to deliver James V. from the thralldom of the Douglasses. Lord Ogilvy joined the army assembled at Stirling under the command of the Earl of Lennox, the movement having the aid and blessing of Cardinal Beaton, with the purpose of marching on Edinburgh and giving battle to the Earl of Angus. The King's liberators met with a disastrous defeat near Corstorphine, and had to fly and hide themselves from the implacable vengeance of the Douglas faction; while Cardinal Beaton, disguised as a shepherd, is reported to have fed sheep on the Lammermoor Hills, Lord Ogilvy found shelter and safety along the range of the Grampians in the cottage of a stodherd.

But what his loyal subjects in the fervour of their attachment had failed to accomplish by force of arms, James, "the poor man's friend," contrived to compass by his own ingenious device. Removed to Falkland Palace for greater safety, the King of Scots, relying on his own wits, determined to gain by stratagem what had proved to be beyond the reach of the sword. By plausible address and by assuming a gay contentment with his lot, he took the first occasion that fortune offered and escaped from his chamber disguised as a groom, mounted a horse and rode to Stirling Castle, where the loyal Barons, Lord Ogilvy among them, speedily assembled to protect and support him. Accompanied by a great body of friendly nobles, James V. travelled to Edinburgh, where the Estates of Parliament were summoned to meet on 2nd September, 1528. The tables were completely

turned. The party to which Lord Ogilvy was attached was now in the ascendant. The House of Douglas was attainted for high treason and their lands forfeited. At this Parliament his lordship was constrained to sit in judgment on his near neighbour, Jane Douglas, Lady Glamis, sister of the banished Earl of Angus, who was summoned to appear before Parliament, on 1st December, 1528, "to answer for the assistance afforded the Earl of Angus in convocating the lieges for eight days immediately preceding June 1st, to invade the King's person." Neighbourhood counted for very little in those strenuous times, and although she escaped any serious consequences on this occasion, the charge was remembered against her eight years later, when she suffered the extreme penalty of the stake on the suspicion of aiding her brothers in their attempt to grasp the reins of power.

Lord Ogilvy attended the meeting of the Estates of Parliament with commendable diligence throughout his career. He seems to have been a man of cultivated mind, and was disposed to support that policy which had for its purpose the consolidation of the kingdom on something like constitutional lines. It had all along been the aim of the Kings of Scotland to curtail the power of the nobles, and to bring all sections of the community under the impartial discipline of law. The contributions of James I. and James IV. to this end have already been mentioned, but now James V., after his recent experience with the Douglas faction, determined on a more deliberate step, with the view of restraining the crimes and violence which were frequently practised, especially those of assassination, burning of houses, and driving of cattle, the usual means by which powerful chiefs avenged themselves of their feudal enemies, about which a good deal falls to be heard in the near future. In 1532 he proposed to institute a College of Justice, composed of fourteen Judges and a President, to hear and decide all civil and criminal causes. The proposal was submitted for the approval of the Supreme Pontiff, who in 1535 issued a Bull sanctioning its establishment. In the Parliament of 1540 an Act was passed by the three Estates constituting this, the Supreme Court

of Scotland in civil affairs. It was composed of Members of Parliament, half clergy and half laity, whose personal qualifications were deemed suitable, and who, besides having the capability for so important an office, enjoyed the favour of the Sovereign. Lord Ogilvy, on its institution, was appointed a Lord of Session, and continued to dispense the functions of his high position during the remaining years of his life.

Two years later James V. died by a total collapse of nature, generally described as a broken heart. The ignominious defeat of Solway Moss, accompanied by the death of his two sons within a few hours of each other, robbed him of every desire to live; even the intelligence that a daughter had been born to him only added bitterness to his tortured mind, and he died seven days after the birth of Mary, Queen of Scots. The situation bristled with unusual possibilities, as the Government of a Queen was unknown in Scotland, and, besides, no provision had been made for the administration of affairs in her name. The nature of the crisis was not long left in doubt. Cardinal Beaton, ever since the advent of Mary of Guise as consort of James V., had taken a prominent place in the politics of the country and now came forward to claim the high office as Regent, and, it is believed on the strength of a forged testament, assumed the title. But many of the Lords of Parliament who were inclined to sympathise with a reformation of religion dreaded the severity of his attitude; while another section of them, in every way true to the ancient faith, were opposed to the idea of a Churchman being elevated to the highest office in the kingdom. Lord Ogilvy, otherwise friendly to Cardinal Beaton, to whom he had given loyal support, took the latter view, and at the meeting of the Estates of Parliament where the whole matter was discussed, took a decided stand and voted in favour of the Earl of Arran, the next heir to the infant Queen. The appointment, though it had precedent in its favour, was in the nature of a compromise, and if the Regent had been a strong man, it might have been justified; but as events proved, he was but "clay in the hands of the potter."

Henry VIII., knowing his feeble and irresolute character, at once brought into play a set of forces which, had he only been patient and prudent, might have accomplished his end; but overreaching himself, he turned them against him and his crafty policy. In the spirit of his ancestors, the English Sovereign revived the pretensions of the Crown of England to the sovereignty over Scotland, but experience had taught him that he would never achieve his purpose by the sword. He had for long practised bribery and corruption, for, being a poor country and given to faction, he was hopeful of thereby gaining the attachment of many of the nobility, and in any case dividing the counsels of the nation. On the appointment of the Earl of Arran to the regency and by the way of least resistance, he conceived the plan of uniting the Crowns through a marriage between his only son, Edward, and Mary, Queen of Scots, when old enough to complete the nuptials. To further his design, he released the prisoners of quality taken at Solway Moss on the understanding that they should straightway support his policy on their return to their native country. But prudence and diplomatic address were never attributes of his nature, nor was patience ever a virtue of his disposition; and so by his rough and aggressive action he killed any chance of success his scheme might have had. By demanding that the young Queen of Scots should be transferred to his charge and remain under his guardianship till such time as the marriage should take place, he not only alienated "the English Scots," as they were called, but played into the hands of his great antagonist, Cardinal Beaton, who found in the general resentment of the Scottish people his opportunity of taking a foremost place in the affairs of the kingdom. The domestic circumstances of the great Churchman have already been referred to, and whatever may be thought of him as a man or the representative of religion, it cannot be denied that he was a great patriot, and but for the fact that he emerged at this critical period—the power behind the Regent—Scotland might have become a mere province of England. Lord Ogilvy, in the Parliament of 1544—the

last meeting of the Estates he seems to have attended—ever friendly with Cardinal Beaton, threw in the strength of his influence on the side of his policy. As he, however, was too old to take the field in those Border wars which followed upon the English monarch's disappointed scheme, known as "Henry's wooing," his son and heir, the Master of Ogilvy, took his place in the ranks in defence of the liberties of Mary and the independence of the country.

In 1545 the raids of the English on the Border counties, which had been frequent during the summer and autumn of the previous year, reached a crisis that had the effect of uniting the Scottish forces, as it did the contending factions, in a determination to resist the encroachment of the enemy. The Earl of Angus, pricked into hostility by the threatened invasion of his own lands, joined with the Governor in chastising their countrymen who had sworn allegiance to England and driving the English across the frontier. James, Master of Ogilvy, like so many of his race, rallied to the standard. On his way to the scene of hostilities he paid a visit to the Abbey of Coupar, of which conjointly with his father, Lord Ogilvy, he was Bailie, and "in the chamber of the Abbot, on 30th July, 1545, at 8 o'clock forenoon" he made a will to the following effect :

"hauand grit motinis mouand hyme for the weile of his bairnis and Katrine Campill, his spouse, and specialie in respect of yis tribulis tyme and raid aganis the Inglismen ald Innemeis of Scotland hes maid, constitut, and ordanit', and bi the tenor heiroy makis, constitutis, and ordanis Katrine Campill, his spouse, his executrix, testamentor to al and Syndre his gudis movabil and unmovable, soumis of mone, dettis, and uthir gair quhatsumeuer. And als bi the tenor heiroy hes maid, constitut, and ordanit, and bi thir presentis maks, constitutis, and ordanis the sade Katrine Campill, his spouse, testrix testamentor to his eldest sonne and air, or utheris his airis quhatsumeuer."

Alive to the fact that the situation was serious, owing to the defeat of the English forces at Ancrum Moor a few months before, he had set his house in order against the dangers and uncertainties of war. Henry VIII. was not

of a temper to take with submission this indignity to his arms, and though at war with France, he was certain to seek at the earliest moment his revenge. It was "rough courtship," as the Earl of Huntly called it, and exasperated the people, who, from aversion to the match, came to regard it with abhorrence, while the general effect was to strengthen the influence of the French. The old allies, embracing the occasion, came to the assistance of the Scots, and on 9th August, 1545, the Master of Ogilvy took part in the recapture of the Border fortresses, which was accomplished by the following November. The fighting, after all, had not been either so strenuous or so prolonged as had been expected, but a more serious challenge, and for the Master of Ogilvy one that bore more fated consequences, was to speedily follow. In January, 1547, Henry VIII. died, and two months later Francis I., his French antagonist, followed him to the grave; but the English monarch had taken precautionary measures that his policy should survive him by impressing on his successor the resolution to subdue Scotland and compel the marriage with Mary, Queen of Scots. The Duke of Somerset, the Lord Protector of England, so soon as he could muster his forces for the purpose, determined to demonstrate to the Scottish nation that if they chose France as an ally, they must bargain for England as an enemy. As he took good care to let this be widely known, the Scots had warning of the coming storm and made their preparations accordingly. The military capability of the English Commander had been amply proved in successful warfare, whereas the Earl of Arran was a leader of doubtful merit. The Scottish army, double that of the enemy, occupied a position of great advantage near Musselburgh on the banks of the River Esk. The English army, numbering eighteen thousand, was supported by a fleet of sixty ships stationed along the coast. The ground chosen by the Scots, however, was so favourable, that had their leadership been equal to the strength of their position, the English would have been forced to retreat; but what happened at Flodden and on the same ground a century later when Oliver Cromwell received a

"crowning mercy," their rash valour threw away all their advantages, and the Battle of Pinkie remains a memory of military incompetence. The Scottish army, composed mainly of infantry whose chief weapon was a long spear, was necessarily in close formation and formidable to any attack of cavalry; but as James I. had long ago heard in England, so again the Scots were to feel the deadly effect of the English archers, the closeness of their order making them an easy target. The attack was fierce and deadly, and unfortunately a misunderstanding at a critical moment led to disaster. The Earl of Angus, manœuvring towards lending support to the main body, was understood to have made a motion for retreat, whereupon panic ensued, followed by confusion when the whole army broke and fled. For five hours in all directions the English pursued the fleeing Scots, and for miles the country was strewn with the bodies of the slain; ten thousand dead having fallen on the day of Pinkie and among them the Master of Ogilvy.

Lord Ogilvy, who did not long survive the death of his eldest son and heir, married Elinor, daughter of Henry, Lord Sinclair, and had a family of five sons and four daughters :

1. James, Master of Ogilvy, whose death on 10th September, 1547, has just been recorded. One of the finest of his race, of high principle, and of a deep sense of honour, he was of a devout and reverent mind. He married Katherine Campbell, in 1536, daughter of Sir John Campbell of Cawdor, Knight, and niece of Archibald, second Earl of Argyll. She was his equal in the goodness of her qualities. On 29th September, 1539, the Abbot of Coupar granted a Charter of the lands of Auchendorie "to James, Master of Ogilvy and Catherine Campbell, his spouse, and the longer liver of them two, and their heirs"; and on 1st October of the same year his father granted to him, his wife, and their heirs, the lands of Campsie and Craigleith. During their married life the Master of Ogilvy lived at Airlie Castle, where there was born to him a family of three sons and two daughters.

Of the sons, the eldest and heir to the title will provide a great deal of matter of interesting historical study. Two years after her husband's death, Katherine Campbell married, as his second wife, David, ninth Earl of Crawford.

2. Thomas of Wester-Craig, the second son of Lord Ogilvy, made history of quite another flavour, and was as unlike his elder brother in temperament, disposition, and character as could possibly be. There is no accounting for such strange vagaries in family life. Of the same parents, under the same influence and restraint, he was in all respects the opposite of the Master of Ogilvy. A libertine, who had regard for nothing but his own wild passions, he was one of the few black sheep of the House of Airlie. Lord Ogilvy had dealt liberally by him. On 13th July, 1548, he was given as his portion the lands of the barony of Craigs, with a residence at Wester-Craig, south of the Isla; while after his marriage he had been granted, to himself and his wife in life-rent and their children in fee, one-third part of the lands of Balintore and Glenquharitie Wester in the barony of Lintrathen, with remainder to his natural son, John Ogilvy, one of the "divers ither bairns" who graced his paternity; and finally, by way of augmentation, he was granted fifty merks annually out of the lands of Airlie. He had thus an ample provision to support his station in life if he were disposed to maintain his dignity; but instead, he used this lavish provision to indulge his lawless passions. A wild youth, he early outstripped the limits of discretion and offended grievously the family sentiment by his oft-repeated scandals. At length, by some strange caprice, he married, about 1560, Janet Fraser, a daughter of Thomas, Lord Lovat, who as early as 1527 had been married to John Crichton of Ruthven, and then a widow of sedate age, at least twenty years older than himself. For a time they lived as husband and wife in apparent amity at his place at Wester-Craig, where he settled down into something like respectability. A son was born of the marriage, called Archibald. But his fancy taking again a wandering flight, Thomas Ogilvy broke loose, and in

defiance of law and decency, during the lifetime of his lawful spouse, as if he had been a "solut persone," contracted a marriage with Beatrix Chisholm, sister of James Chisholm, Laird of Cromlix. He even had the hardihood to have the banns proclaimed in the Parish Church of Glenlyon, where Janet Fraser was a parishioner, and where at the time she was residing. Being fully cognisant of the fact, as indeed it was alleged that she heard the proclamation without demur or objection, she brought upon herself the charge of "manifest collusion." There thus arose this strange conjunction of circumstances that Thomas Ogilvy had two wives living within gunshot of each other, and entertained by him with the knowledge and apparent consent of both—the one, Janet Fraser, "in ye over Craig"; the other, Beatrix Chisholm—the younger and more favoured Sultana—"in the West or Nether Craig"; dwelling together after the Eastern fashion with the engrossing object of their affections. The favoured Benedict and his two wives lived for the next four years in a state of happy acquiescence with their anomalous condition and quite undesirous of having it otherwise, till their dream of bliss was rudely interrupted by the strong arm of the law in the shape of the Procurator-Fiscal intervening and reporting the situation to the Commissioners of the County. The case, of course, was defenceless, as Thomas Ogilvy knew quite well, and he made no attempt to defend his action; but the only redeeming feature of it was his appeal for the "remeid" of law to prevent, if possible, the bastardising of the children of the second marriage. In this appeal he had the strenuous support of Beatrix Chisholm, who, on perceiving that her marriage would be annulled, "desirit ye Judges to find ye barnis gotten betwixt her and ye said Thomas Ogilvy lauchful; protestant quhatever be done herein, prelude not ye saidis barnis . . . and yat ye first marriage mak not ye barnis gotten betwixt thame unlauchful." The plea failed on the ground that it was a case of open adultery and known to all the parties concerned.

3. John, the third son, was given the estate of Inver-

keillor, and was the head of this branch of the Ogilvys. Of him it is recorded that, as the result of a feud with the Ramsays, he and his eldest son were charged with the murder of James Ramsay, tutor of Lowis. This son, John also by name, married Elizabeth Beaton, granddaughter of Cardinal Beaton and Marion Ogilvy.

4. Archibald, who was Clerk to the See of Dunkeld.

5. Alexander, who married the widow of David Ogilvy of that ilk, by which he acquired part of the ancient heritage of the Ogilvys—Kilmunday in the Glen of Ogilvy, and the first time the Airlie branch came into touch with the original stock.

6. Helen, married to James, Lord Innermeath.

7. Marion, married, in 1537, to Patrick, fifth Lord Gray.

8. Margaret, married to James Graham of Fintray.

9. Agnes, married to Thomas, son of Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin.

Lord Ogilvy was more a statesman than a soldier, and of a temper of mind more suited to the theatre of politics than to the field of war. He was intensely loyal to James V., who was much attached to him, relied upon his counsel, and in his times of distress when he found asylum at Baikie Castle, only three miles distant from the Castle of Airlie, claimed his presence and courted his friendship. In a letter to the "Venerable fader in God and devoute orator, William, Abbot of Coupar," dated "at Edinburgh ye thirty day of May" (the year is not stated, but in all probability it was 1541, the year before his death, and that on which the appointment to the office of Chief Bailie terminated), His Majesty counselled the re-election of our "louitt cousing James, Lord Ogilvy" as "Bailie of our Abbey of Coupar and Convent of St. Mary," in all respects a "worthy person" and "honourable." Needless to say, he was continued in the position, and instead of being appointed for a term of years the office was made heritable. But Lord Ogilvy, who had served his King and country with remarkable fidelity, did not long survive the loss of his son and heir—the Master of Ogilvy—

at Pinkie. Soon after that battle, Mary having been sent to a safe retreat on the island of Inchmahome in the Lake of Monteith, the English, determined on their purpose to possess themselves of her person as the crown of victory, captured the important strongholds of Inchcolm and Inchkeith, in the Firth of Forth, and threatened the heart of the country by obtaining possession of Broughty Castle at the mouth of the Tay. Lord Ogilvy, with the rest of the nobility of Angus, mustered their forces and attacked the invaders, laying the Castle under siege. In this engagement, it is supposed, he met his death, being either killed or dying of his wounds, two months after the death of his son, on 27th November, 1547. "A rough courtship," the defence of Mary, Queen of Scots, cost the House of Airlie two of its ornaments; yet, in her later years, Her Majesty, though insensible of this the first tribute to her person of the family loyalty, had occasion to know, as she had the heart to appreciate, the most faithful exposition of the family ideal which, under the circumstances, it was possible to exhibit.

## JAMES, FIFTH LORD OGILVY OF AIRLIE

JAMES, fifth Lord Ogilvy of Airlie, was the son of the Master of Ogilvy, who was killed at Pinkie, 1547, and of Katherine Campbell, his wife, afterwards Countess of Crawford. He was born some time in the year 1538. He was thus a minor, being only ten years of age, when he succeeded on the death of his grandfather to the title and estates. There is nothing known of his education, but there is ample testimony that this was carefully attended to, and that he was thoroughly equipped, as was the custom of the period, in classical literature and the laws of the Constitution. His early years, during his father's lifetime and for two years after, till his mother's second marriage, were spent at Airlie Castle. For the next few years and until he attained majority, excepting the time spent on foreign travel, which was then the recognised course of educational procedure, his home was mostly at Brechin Castle. He was devoted to his mother, who was a woman of exquisite charm, and of a deep and most fervent piety. The influence she exerted on his mind was great, and the effect of it was seen all through his life. "A fig-tree looking on a fig-tree becometh fruitful," says an Arabian proverb. This is true of the impressionable age of youth in respect to the influence of home-life. Naturally inclined through a thoughtful and reflective mind and a virtuous disposition to take a serious view of life and things, Lord Ogilvy had the particular advantage of a careful training and a good example.

"She is the earliest I can point to," wrote James Ludovic, Earl of Crawford, "in the dim twilight of the past, of a line of excellent Mothers whom it has been my delight to recognise amongst our female ancestry, to whose early culture and watchful care, many a virtue and many a blessing with which our forefathers have been gifted, are under God attributable."

With the influence of such a gentle spirit radiating the atmosphere of his early life, the youthful Baron acquired the habit of serious thought and deliberate and consistent conduct which were characteristic of his whole career. He was deeply conscientious and always consistent according to the measure of his light. If on occasion he was apt to draw the sword, this does not so much belie the gentleness of his nature as prove the strength of the custom of the time in deciding a difference. The soundest argument of those days was "a strong man armed." The syllogism most commonly used was a good and trusty weapon, which was always ready to hand.

The late Lord Ogilvy had been an active Member of Parliament, and in this respect his successor followed his example. On attaining majority, in addition to taking over the administration of his widely scattered property and the duties of the three baileries, he took his seat in the Legislative Assembly. The year 1559, when he launched out into the deep currents of political life, was perhaps the most momentous year in the history of the Scottish people. Then, great movements in civil and religious matters reached a crisis, and, unhesitatingly, though young and in a sense inexperienced, he chose his path with deliberation and pursued it with unvarying resolution.

It may be advisable to give a brief review of the situation of national affairs, when Lord Ogilvy embarked on public life, in order that his attitude may be fully appreciated. During the regency of Mary of Lorraine, whose chief object was to promote the interests and extend the power of the Guises, French influence had so penetrated the interstices of the body politic that there was no concealing of the design which she had in her mind of making Scotland an appanage of France. The great offices of State were assigned to Frenchmen of Guise sympathies, while the chief fortresses of the country were garrisoned by French soldiers who owed to a similar attachment. The statesmen of the country, who in many cases had acquired an almost hereditary claim to guide the affairs of State, were many of them relegated to sinecure posi-

tions, while the more aggressive were banished the kingdom. This policy naturally gave rise to feelings not only of jealousy but also of resentment. The great nobles who hitherto had taken an active part in statecraft now became sullen and only awaited their opportunity, should good-fortune favour them, to raise objections and, if need be, violent opposition. They had not long to wait. In the Parliament of 1556 the Queen-Regent ventilated a proposal which was diametrically opposed to the long-established policy of the nation. It had ever been the time-honoured commercial custom as well as the proud boast of the Scottish nobility that they had made good the defence of their native country, and from their own retainers, at their own cost, had furnished the fighting material of the nation. The proposal now laid before them, that they should follow the example of France and create a standing army by ordinance of Parliament, to be maintained by a permanent tax on the property of the country, gave rise to such hostility that the Regent was constrained with the best grace she could muster to abandon her project. The possible reason for her proposition shortly emerged, which only deepened the general suspicion of her policy.

A few months later France was at war with Spain, and Philip II., as the husband of Mary Tudor, might naturally reckon on the support of England. In the nature of things France as naturally looked to the Scots as a possible ally; and accordingly, Henry II. approached Mary of Lorraine with the proposition that Scotland should by way of diversion declare war on England. The Regent at once made attempt to comply, and was on the point of succeeding in her design, a large army having mustered at Kelso for the invasion of that country, when the leading nobles refused to give their consent and the army was disbanded. These defeats of her policy, while they tended to weaken her position, augmented greatly the influence and power of the nobility.

An event, however, occurred which had the effect of considerably complicating matters for the Scottish patriots in the marriage on 24th April, 1558, of Mary,

Queen of Scots, with the Dauphin of France. This alliance brought the long-cherished dream of the Guises to the border of fulfilment. While the necessary treaty arising out of the occasion provided for the independence of Scotland, a secret compact, at the time unknown to the Estates of Parliament, was entered into by Mary Stewart whereby, in the event of her dying without heirs, Scotland was made over as a free gift to the King of France. This motion, in conjunction with other matters that moved in the same direction, made it patent to the minds of the Scottish people what the real objective was and how it was to be attained. The danger, fortunately, once it was clearly apprehended, had the immediate effect of bringing the chief national leaders together in a resolute determination to thwart, and, if possible, to defeat, the attempt of making their country a province of France. As it so happened, a movement of another kind had already brought the majority of the nobles together in a remarkable unity of purpose. Great spiritual questions were moving the hearts of people everywhere. There was a general desire to lay hold of the truth of things, and to realise their true moral value. Instead of the mere symbol there was a demand for reality. Dissatisfied with the letter, they wanted to be in possession of the spirit. It was felt that religion had become a byword and a reproach. The Church for a length of time had been little more than a secular institution. Now a renaissance of religious feeling of a robust and independent type had begun to dominate the minds of all classes of the country, the particular character of which was an appeal to the Scriptures as the supreme authority of Christian faith and life. The nobles led the movement, and to such purpose that Knox has stated of that period that "there might have been seen the Bible lying almost upon every gentleman's table."

This spiritual movement took practical shape and gave rise to what is known in Scottish ecclesiastical history as the First Covenant. Some of the leading members of the nobility, headed by the Earl of Argyll, entered into a solemn Covenant, binding themselves to worship God according

to their conscience. They then separated from the Roman Communion and formed themselves into a "Congregation of Christ Jesus"; generally meeting for the purpose of worship, prayer, and study of the Scriptures in private houses. The nobles who identified themselves with this movement were openly called the "Lords of the Congregation," and as they enjoyed for a time a large amount of toleration, more than probably on the ground that many of the lords had sufficient influence to intimidate the Government, their number accordingly increased.

This is how matters stood in civil and religious affairs immediately preceding that eventful year when Lord Ogilvy attained majority and entered on public life. He had been studying the trend of things. As a true patriot, loving his country and jealous of its independence, he had observed with disdainful feelings the incursion of the Guise influence. A man of remarkably fine character, of high ideal, and of chaste religious sentiment, he deplored the corrupt state of the Church and the total lack of religious fervour. As he was sincere, devout, and resolute, there was no question on which side he would cast his lot when the time came to determine his line of action. He joined the "Lords of the Congregation."

A singular conjunction of circumstances following upon the rapid sequence of events brought about the crisis in which Lord Ogilvy took a prominent part. On 17th November, 1558, the Catholic Mary Tudor died, and her sister, Elizabeth, ascended the throne of England as a Protestant Queen. This event had a prodigious effect on Scottish opinion and on the relations of the two neighbouring kingdoms. The rising tide of a Protestant feeling in Scotland looked with a more sympathetic eye across the southern border than had hitherto been the case. The public alarm occasioned by the threatened absorption of their country by France not only swelled the ranks of "the Congregation," but actually caused them to turn in the direction of their ancient enemy as a possible ally. The quartering of the arms of Scotland with those of France was an indication of French policy too obvious to be mistaken. The danger thickened when,

by the death of Henry II., on 10th July, 1559, Mary Stewart, the niece of the Guises, became Queen of France. The Regent, gathering strength from this stroke of fortune, sought to make good her long-cherished dream. A force of French soldiers, a thousand strong, landed at Leith, and as they brought their wives and children with them, it was apparent to the simplest intelligence that they had come to stay. This was a deliberate challenge, and the Lords of the Congregation regarded it in this light. Accordingly, they met at Stirling and took counsel as to the line of action they should adopt. Lord Ogilvy, in the flush and high-spirited ardour of youth, and fired by patriotic fervour, joined the lords in determining upon drastic measures—nothing short of the deposition of Mary of Lorraine from the regency. On this they resolved, though it proved to be beyond their strength. The next move had a different tale to tell.

The lords at once opened up negotiations with Queen Elizabeth, ostensibly with the view of inducing her to support the cause of Protestantism in Scotland, of which she had avowed herself the champion; but more immediately to aid them in expelling the French soldiery from their country. Maitland of Lethington, who had been despatched to the English Court to broach the subject with Elizabeth, had succeeded up to the measure of their expectation. The Queen being willing to help, it only remained to adjust the terms of the compact. Accordingly, on 27th February, 1560, the Scottish Commissioners, the Lord James Stewart, Lord Ruthven, Lord Ogilvy, William Maitland of Lethington, and John Wishart of Pittarrow, met at Berwick-on-Tweed the Duke of Norfolk, and concluded a treaty—one of the most notable in the national history, in effect a bond of mutual defence against France—whose first object was to assist the Lords of the Congregation in driving the French soldiery out of the country, and ultimately ensuring the triumph of the Congregation and the cause of Protestantism in Scotland. The fact that Lord Ogilvy, so young and in a sense inexperienced in the high walks of statecraft, should have been chosen to act on such an important Commission speaks

volumes in his favour, not only of the rapid progress he had made in the counsels of the nation, but also of his personal fitness, his intellectual grasp, his courage and sagacity.

In the midst of the strife occasioned by the expulsion of the French, and while the Protestant lords were trying to consolidate their forces in support of the Reformed doctrine, two events speedily followed each other, the latter of which affected Lord Ogilvy in a remarkable degree and appealed to that loyalty which had all along been a tradition of his family. On 10th June, 1559, Mary of Lorraine died. He had opposed her policy on patriotic grounds, and had done his best to defeat it. He had taken up arms against it and fought side by side with, as his father had recorded, "the Inglis men ald Innimeis of Scotland." But times had changed and conditions had changed with them. The other and by far the more important event was the unexpected death, on 5th December, 1560, of Francis II., the husband of Mary Stewart, Queen of Scots. The results attendant upon this change were to prove as far-reaching as they had been unforeseen.

Without exception the most beautiful and accomplished woman of her time—tall, gracefully formed, and elegant in all her motions—the beauty and grace of her person were enhanced by her great condescension and by the good-humour and gaiety of her manner. Educated to a high degree in the culture of the period, she was mistress of several languages, and had a wide grasp of State affairs, in which she had exercised a great authority in France, having an unbounded influence over the mind of her husband. The altered circumstances occasioned by his death must have been painful to a lofty mind like Mary's, especially as Catherine de' Medici, who was for ever plotting mischief, had assumed authority of government on the accession of Charles. Rather than endure coldness and neglect in the place where she had met with honour and obedience, she elected to retire from the French Court and return to her native kingdom of Scotland. This determination on her part opened up great

possibilities for the Scottish nation, touched with the glamour of romance the whole land, and awoke with exhilaration the chivalry that lay deep in the hearts of the people.

When the Queen of Scots landed at Leith on the morning of 19th August, 1561, radiant with youth and beauty, she had not a more loyal subject in her dominions than Lord Ogilvy, and none that extended to her a heartier welcome. Though by conviction a Protestant, like many members of the nobility, he did not share the extreme views of John Knox, nor did he approve his brusque demeanour. He was a Moderate, and did not allow his predilection on the subject of religion to compromise his loyalty to the throne. It may even be that his deep sense of loyalty to Her Majesty tempered his zeal for the Reformed doctrine, and that his regard for her, surrounded with difficulties both economic and religious, was such as to soften any asperity that may for the time have found lodgment in his heart. At any rate, he belonged to that body of courtiers whom John Knox declared "apostate," and whose endeavours to gain the Queen were reckoned "criminal and servile."

Lord Ogilvy added greatly to his patrimonial acres. The first and by far the most interesting acquisition to the Airlie estate was that which he made in 1560 of the lands of Forther in Glenisla. The earliest proprietor of these lands, so far at least as appears on record, was the family of McCombie, which was known as the Clan McKerrow, the head of the sept being designated of Finziegand in Glenshee. Through intermarriage with the Campbells, this family was in sympathy with, and had the protection of, the Earl of Argyll. Whether through forfeiture or other causes, the lands of Forther were annexed to the Crown, and the Sovereign, probably Alexander III., made them over in gift to the Durwards of Lintrathen. This family, in turn, bestowed them upon the Abbey of Coupar, and they were retained by the Convent of St. Mary till they were sold by Donald, the Abbot, to Lord Ogilvy. Meikle Forther was purchased on 10th September, 1557.

Two and a half years later, on 10th March, 1560, when the ecclesiastical authorities were setting their house in order and filling the treasury of the Abbey against the stormy days of the Reformation, Lord Ogilvy purchased the remaining lands of Forther from the Abbot of Coupar, and obtained possession of the extensive territories of the Convent of St. Mary to the north and as far east as Tulchan.

Immediately on the acquisition of this property, his lordship proceeded to grant allotments to several cadets of the House of Airlie. This was a prudent policy, inasmuch as it was a precautionary measure against the feuds that so often arose in the Highlands and which soon occurred in the upper reaches of Glenisla. It was a natural desire of the time, then under the feudal system of land tenure, and was quite common among nobles even in time of peace, to form associations which, when made with their equals, were called "Leagues of Mutual Defence," and when with their inferiors or dependents, "Bonds of Manrent." Self-preservation forced on these confederacies as near neighbours found it necessary to unite in this manner for their mutual security, while the weak were obliged to court the patronage of the strong. Thus clanship was formed. In this way many members of the Ogilvy Clan were located in Glenisla who were devoted to their chief, and as they erected homesteads upon the land allotted to them, usually at strategic points which were partially fortified, the Lord of the Glen found in them a reliable defence against the raiding bands of Highlanders who were constantly on the outlook for plunder.

Shortly after he took possession of this Highland territory, Lord Ogilvy built the Castle of Forther as a place to which he could retire if threatened with attack at Airlie by his southern enemies. This is likely enough, as few of his Lowland foes would care to pursue him amid the wilds of the Grampians, where mountain, moor, and river set bounds to the pursuit. Besides, it was necessary to have a garrisoned castle there as a means of defence against the raiders from the north and west,

though the east was amply protected by the Ogilvys of Inverquhar and Clova. The site was particularly well chosen, and the Castle stands upon a commanding position. Surrounded by lofty mountains, the approach to it must have been difficult to negotiate. With the scent of danger, of which the Highlander had a keen sense, it would not have been easy to take the garrison by surprise, as it commands extensive views down the Glen and up the Isla towards Tulchan, while to the west it overlooks the road to Glenshee. Strong in its natural situation, the Castle was made still more formidable by the defensive appliances known at the time; but, as will be seen later, it did not prove to be impregnable when heavy artillery was brought to bear upon it eighty years after.

But much water was to run under the bridge before then. The current of events, always rapid, arose at times into a spring-tide flood of great volume, sweeping everything before it. The part which Lord Ogilvy played in such matters will be noted in due course; but meanwhile affairs of a personal character, though not without a tinge of national colour, fall to be recorded. Reference has been made, and it may be again, to his loyalty. This brought him frequently into conflict, as differences of opinion were then decided, not by argument but by arms. The dissensions which then agitated the kingdom were widespread and bitter in the extreme, and called forth the worst passions of human nature. The constant skirmishes which took place in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh gave rise to scenes of violence which sincere patriotism beheld with abhorrence. In the remote parts of the country, too, where the feudal spirit was rampant, there were frequently exhibited a barbarity and a disregard for the simple amenities of life and every amiable feeling, which in this age it is difficult to appreciate. The temptation, of course, was great, as every nobleman carried his sword by his side as a mark of rank and fashion, while the spirit of the time was heavily charged with most combustible elements. A matter which aroused great feeling at this particular juncture was what is known in history as the Huntly Rising, the object

of which was to oppose the policy of the Queen of Scots, and in turn an attempt on her part to restrict the power of the Earl of Huntly, who ruled as a Prince over vast territories north of the Forth. Lord Ogilvy, partly to uphold the Government of Her Majesty, but chiefly to vindicate a cause of his own, came into conflict with the Gordons. This feud was one of many which then existed among the independent nobility and feudal aristocracy of Scotland, who practically acknowledged no authority or jurisdiction save the strength of their own right arm. These feuds were decided, not by law but by violence. The offended Baron, instead of having recourse to the superior authority, or to the court which had been instituted for the purpose, by way of redress assembled his own followers and invaded the lands of his rival in a hostile manner, doing the utmost damage it was possible to inflict. To seek explanation, or to offer an apology, or to demand compensation at law, never entered the heads of these warlike people as a possible solution of any untoward circumstances. The way of least resistance was no part of their creed; it was "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." It was an age when to forgive an injury was regarded as despicable, and to forbear revenge infamous and cowardly. Many of these feuds, too, were in the nature of family legacies; and not infrequently, as in the case of the Ogilvys and the Campbells, a nobleman, together with his estates and honours, transmitted some hereditary feud to his posterity, who were bound in honour to adopt and to prosecute it with unabated rancour.

The Earl of Huntly, from the time of James III., exercised uncontrolled power over the Midlands and North of Scotland. Indeed, in the reign of James IV. he held the appointment of Lord-Lieutenant of all the counties from Perth to Caithness, where his authority was supreme, transcending even that of Parliament. In addition to the vast property which he possessed, by far exceeding that of any other subject, he either held or claimed superiority over a multitude of estates throughout the several counties north of the Forth. The par-

ticular dispute at issue between Lord Ogilvy and the Earl of Huntly was the claim of the latter to the superiority over the lands of Forther, which, as just recorded, the former had recently purchased. Instead of taking the matter to a court of law, the parties concerned had recourse, as the custom of the time was, to the arbitrament of arms. Lord Ogilvy, at the moment when the dispute had become a deadly quarrel, happened unfortunately to meet Sir John Gordon of Deskford, the third son of the Earl of Huntly, in the High Street of Edinburgh, on 27th June, 1562, and both being attended with armed followers, a pitched battle ensued, in which, while many of the vassals on both sides suffered severely, Lord Ogilvy, who had engaged Sir John Gordon, was dangerously wounded, his right arm being badly mutilated.

As a result of this breach of public peace and order, the Magistrates of the city seized both the offenders, while the Queen commanded them to be strictly confined during her pleasure. Her Majesty was greatly offended at what she regarded as an insult to her authority, and she determined to show her displeasure at such indecorous conduct. But she had soon to learn, if before she had no inkling of the mood of the Scottish nobility, that even this moderate exercise of her power in ordering them to be kept in custody was deemed, in an age accustomed to license and anarchy, an act of intolerable rigour. The internment of the two principals of the quarrel was speedily followed by a muster of the vassals of each party, in order to overawe or to frustrate the decisions of justice, and the two clans, which a short time before had been engaged in deadly combat, united their forces in the common cause of liberating their chiefs. Sir John Gordon escaped from prison, and accompanied by a large body of his clan made his way to Aberdeenshire, complaining loudly of the indignity with which he had been treated; while shortly after Lord Ogilvy was released through the clemency of the Queen.

This exercise of the royal prerogative was perhaps intended as a prelude to engaging his lordship in a military capacity. For, two months later, the Queen of Scots

set out on a visit to the northern parts of her kingdom with the view apparently of making acquaintance with them, but actually to overawe the power of the Earl of Huntly. Lord Ogilvy with a number of his vassals joined the little army as the cavalcade passed through Strathmore, and took his place in the ranks. The sequel is known to everyone conversant with the history of the period—how the royal party was surprised by the Huntly Conspiracy, and was only extricated by the boldness and clever strategy of the Earl of Murray at Corichie, by which the rebellion of the Gordons was broken and the Huntly power annihilated for the time being.

While Lord Ogilvy was thus embroiled in the politics of the country, and in consequence a great deal absent from the territory over which he ruled, the Clan Gregor, taking advantage of this, had been making raids along the Braes of Angus, doing great damage to person and property. So persistent were these raids and so detrimental was their effect, that the Crown was constrained to intervene its authority for their subjugation. The Clan Gregor, or MacGregor, whose chief haunts were in the Perthshire hills and in parts of Argyleshire, had been for long years by their predatory habits a source of great annoyance to the people along the foothills of the Grampians. A wild and lawless race, they resisted every overture of civilisation. Ishmaels, their hands were against every man, and every man's hand was against them. Of Celtic origin, they were accounted one of the most ancient clans in the Highlands, being, it is said, descended from Gregor, or Gregorius, third son of Alpin, King of Scots, who flourished about 787. At one period they occupied extensive possessions, which, tradition says, they acquired and continued to hold by the *coir-a-glaive*, or the right of the sword.

The particular branch of the MacGregor family, or Clan Alpine, which had its abode in the uplands of Perthshire, was known by the title of MacEagh, or "Children of the Mist." Deprived of their possessions by their more powerful neighbour of Breadalbane, they could not be supposed to endure privation while they had

the means of taking from strangers what they considered rightfully their own. Hence they became versed in predatory forays, and appropriated for their own use and benefit whatever came within the ambit of their power.

“ For why? the good old rule  
Sufficeth them; the simple plan,  
That they should take who have the power,  
And they should keep who can.”

Lord Ogilvy, as stated, had recently acquired the lands of Forther, and had resolved on planting cadets of his House at strategic points to guard the passes against such forays as the MacGregors were prone to commit. Whilst still in the transition stage, and before defensive measures had been organised, the MacGregors, seeing their opportunity and taking advantage of the unsettled condition of things, made a raid on the Ogilvy lands, not confined to Glenisla but stretching as far east as the Braes of Airlie and almost touching the Sidlaws. This scheme of plunder was contrived and executed with equal boldness and sagacity, and from the skill with which it was made, and the secrecy and rapidity with which it was carried out, succeeded in clearing a large portion of the herds of black cattle that pastured in the valleys and on the hills. This depredation, it is needless to add, was not effected without bloodshed; and as the MacGregors were bold hillmen, every one of whom was an expert with the sword and the dirk, in addition to their loss of stock, the Ogilvys had a number of dead strewn the line of retreat.

By an act of Privy Council at Stirling, dated 22nd September, 1563, Lord Ogilvy was commissioned to pursue the wicked Clan Gregor, so long continuing in blood, slaughter, theft, and robbery, with fire and sword, while the said order discharged the lieges “ to receive or assist any of the Clan Gregor, or afford them under any colour whatever meat, drink, or clothing.”

This punitive mission was a hazardous undertaking, as the MacGregors were as willing to take as they were ready to give hard knocks, and if their forays were

planned with a dexterous cunning, they never failed to resist an attack with the most determined courage, and always sold their lives dearly. The chastisement administered on this occasion may have been a palliative; it was not a cure. It may have had the effect of changing the scene of operations; it did not abate the mischief. It may have given a respite; it did not prevent a recurrence of the theft and slaughter. The Airlie Papers show that the proscribed clan paid frequent visits to the Ogilvy lands during the succeeding century, and, in the time of the first Earl of Airlie, these "Children of the Mist," headed by their chief, Patrick Roy MacGregor, when the moon was at the full, swept down upon the lands of Cortachy and drove off the cattle that were pasturing along the valley of the Prosen. This among other depredations gave rise to an Act of Parliament in the reign of Charles I., 1633, wherein it is set forth in the preamble that the—

"Clan Gregor which had been suppressed and reduced to quietness by the great care of the late king of eternal memory had nevertheless broken out again in the Counties of Perth, Stirling, Clackmannan, Menteith, Lennox, Angus and the Mearns; for which reason the statute re-establishes the disabilities attached to the Clan, and grants a new Commission for enforcing the laws against that wicked and rebellious race."

In the dark days that fell to the lot of the Queen of Scots, Lord Ogilvy stood by her to the last, and was one of the most active in her defence. His loyalty was sorely tried. Of singular purity of mind and whose integrity of purpose was always as clear as it was steadfast, the tragic event of Darnley's murder with its attendant suspicions, and the more than dramatic sequel shortly after of her marriage to Bothwell, must have been a severe strain on a nature so serious and truthful as his. There is nothing, however, to show that he acted otherwise than from a landable concern for the safety of the Queen and the young Prince. He joined the league formed at Stirling for this purpose, but he did not share the feeling of the confederate lords in their treatment of Mary. Like many of the nobles, now that she was in

their charge, he was inclined to treat her with great lenity. Though at first he opposed any interference with the royal marriage and voted against the proposal for a divorce, he at length was in favour of Maitland's proposal to punish the murderers of the King and dissolve the marriage with Bothwell, and, after providing for the safety of the young Prince and the security of the Reformed faith, to re-establish Mary in the possession of her legal authority. When, however, the confederate lords proposed to persuade or force Her Majesty to resign the Crown with the view of the Prince being proclaimed King and the appointment of a Regent during his minority, Lord Ogilvy withdrew from the confederation, and with Atholl, Maitland, and Kirkaldy took up the position that such a resignation, extorted by fear, was void in law and might be revoked as soon as she recovered her liberty. It is in the light of this attitude that his subsequent conduct is to be regarded. He joined what is known as the Queen's party, whose main purpose was to effect her escape from Lochleven Castle and place her again in the seat of authority. It is well known how this was accomplished, and how, attended by a number of friendly courtiers, she rode to Niddrie, and, after three hours' rest, set out for Hamilton, where she arrived the following morning. The intelligence of the Queen's escape was heard everywhere with astonishment, and many of the nobles who had taken an active part in compelling her resignation of the Crown flocked to her standard, and in proof of their sincerity a bond was subscribed, in which they promised and obliged themselves, in the Name of the Eternal God, to serve and truly obey their natural Princess as her faithful lieges and subjects against all her enemies.

Resuming the title and authority of Queen of Scotland, Mary issued proclamations calling upon her faithful subjects to support their lawful Sovereign, in obedience to which Lord Ogilvy, to augment the Queen's forces, rode north to the Airlie lands and raised a strong regiment of his kinsmen. He just missed the Battle of Langside, arriving too late to be of use to his royal mis-

tress. The defeat of Mary's army on 13th May, 1568, and her subsequent resolution to take refuge in England and to commit herself to the stern and artful Elizabeth, came as a great shock to the Queen's party. It was known that the most distant parts of the kingdom were attached to her, and that many of the most powerful nobles were on her side; but now that she had thrown herself into the power of the English Queen, every hope which might have been reasonably entertained of re-establishing her authority was blasted. For it soon became apparent that on entering England she became a prisoner.

It may be advisable at this stage to give the names of the noblemen who were attached to the Queen's party, preliminary to a statement of the attitude they adopted and the course they pursued. These were not only numerous but of immense influence in the counsels of the nation: such as the Earls of Huntly, Argyll, Crawford, Cassilis, Caithness, Rothes, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Lords Fleming, Ross, Sanquhar, Eglinton, Ogilvie, Boyd, Oliphant, Borthwick, Maxwell, Forbes, Arrol, Drummond, Sommerville, Yester. Of this bright array of talent and loyalty Lord Ogilvy was a conspicuous member, whose devotion to Mary Stewart was never in doubt, and whose sagacious counsels were as highly esteemed as his resolute courage was relied upon.

Two months after the Battle of Langside and the flight of Mary into England the above-mentioned nobles met at Largs, a sea-coast town in Ayrshire, and earnestly debated the situation. Aware of what had passed between Elizabeth and the Regent Moray, and flattering themselves that the English Queen might be disposed to give them her support, they addressed to her a letter artfully written and designed to make a good impression on her mind. The letter, dated at Largs, 28th July, 1568, is given in full in Crawford's collection, but the substance of it may here be recorded. Reminding Elizabeth of the manner in which their Queen had entered England, they implored her to place Mary again on the throne. If, however, she was of the mind not actively to interfere, they entreated that she would permit the

Queen of Scots to return to her dominions, that they who were her loyal and devoted subjects might use the means which they had in crushing her enemies. Then follows a spirited passage in which Elizabeth is warned that if she, notwithstanding their supplication, should detain Mary as a prisoner, she would violate every dictate of honour, would be execrated by all Princes who had any regard to integrity, and, what perhaps would give great offence to the jealous-minded Elizabeth, would disappoint a large part of her own subjects who were attached to the Scottish Queen.

Lord Ogilvy, who was one of the signatories of this letter, gave speedy proof that he was prepared to back his word with force. The regiment of Ogilvys that was too late for Langside had remained in the west country to be ready if need were found. In a short time the number was greatly augmented. As the other lords acted in a like manner, a very formidable army was soon assembled for the purpose, should Mary be set at liberty, of reinstating her in her position of authority. There was thus the probability, as there were all the elements, of a bitter internecine struggle, which was prevented by the Regent obtaining, from the exiled Queen through Elizabeth, an order to her partisans to disband.

Lord Ogilvy, who had been denounced a rebel against the King's authority since the escape of Mary from Lochleven, took occasion to reconcile himself to the actual state of things and made humble submission to His Majesty :

" AT SANCTANDROIS,  
" 6th March, 1569.

" Lord Ogilvy offeris and is content to recognise and acknowledge James the Sixt, be the grace of God King of Scottis, as his onlie Soverane Lord, promised unto him obediens and fidelitie in all tyme cuming as also sall obey my Lord Regent in his office of Regentrie during the tyme thair of : and hareupon is content to gif his solemn puit ayth and subscripcioun manual thairon as other noblemen and barons hes down. Thir things being performit, Lord Ogilvy, sall have a plane remission to himself and his household and servants for all crymes began sen

his defection from the King's obedienes, and thairafter my Lord Regent sall accept him in special favour, friendship, and kyndness, and sall use him as ane nobil man of his estate in all conditions."

Although Lord Ogilvy thus took the oath of allegiance to James VI., who at once "hugged the offender and forgave the offence," this did not disturb his loyalty to Mary, or prevent him continuing to act with the party who had her interests at heart.

"Constant as the northern star,  
Of whose true-fixed and resting quality  
There is no fellow in the firmament,"

he never lost sight of the fact that his royal mistress and rightful Queen was a prisoner, in the power of one who, "like the waves of the sea driven with the wind and tossed," was "unstable" in all her ways. Though it does not belong to this history to give in detail the representation of the different parties, or to enlarge on the artful policy of Elizabeth, beyond what is required to illustrate the line of conduct pursued by Lord Ogilvy, it is, however, necessary to deal with certain circumstances which, while they led the English Queen to profess a desire to vindicate Mary and restore her to her Crown, were, nevertheless, nothing more than a pretext to cover her real designs. But Lord Ogilvy and his confederates, taking her avowals at their face value, were led to believe that their importunate appeals might yet achieve their purpose. What Elizabeth never forgot—and the knowledge of it may to a large extent have been the cause of her fluctuating policy—was the fact that a considerable proportion of her subjects, especially in the North of England, were of the Roman Catholic persuasion, and in consequence hostile to her rule and in sympathy with Mary. As it happened, there was at this time great unrest in the northern part of her dominions, which threatened rebellion on the part of the Catholic population, and the fear was that the Marian party in Scotland might join forces with their English sympathisers, the success of

which would mean the restoration of the Queen of Scots to her legal authority. The danger eventually subsided, but the threat of it was sufficient to put in train certain proposals which gave the appearance of sincerity on the part of Elizabeth, and held out the promise of terminating the differences between Mary and her subjects. A Convention was held at Perth in July, 1569, at which Lord Ogilvy was present, and, as might be expected, he threw the whole weight of his influence in favour of the measure that was most likely to secure the liberty of Mary. These proposals, conveyed to the Regent, who submitted them to the Convention, presented three alternatives :

“That Mary should be restored to her throne without any restrictions; or, that she should be associated with her son in the government, the administration of affairs remaining in the hands of Regent Moray till the King attained the age of seventeen; or if neither of these should be approved, that she should return into Scotland to live in a private station but with such an allowance for her support and dignity as was suitable to the mother of the Sovereign.”

Lord Ogilvy, like many of the Queen's party who had taken the oath of allegiance to James VI. only four months ago, felt himself precluded from supporting the first proposal, “that Mary should be restored to her throne without restrictions”; and while he would gladly have seen her “associated with her son in the government,” he ultimately fell in with what was a unanimous decision that Mary “should return into Scotland to live in a private station.” Although after-events prove that Elizabeth failed to honour her own proposals, the following document, preserved in the Cecil Calendar, at least shows that at the time it was seriously intended that Mary should be granted her freedom.

“INSTRUCTIONS FOR HENRY CAREW TO DECLARE TO THE  
REGENT MURRAY.

“*21st September, 1569.*

“Considering the continual solicitations by the Queen of Scots' friends for some final resolution in her causes, the Queen communicates this that followeth, requiring a speedy answer.

“What hostages will be given to the Queen, if the Queen of Scots be returned into Scotland, that she shall not be in any danger of her life? The Earl is to know that the more hostages in number and of titles are given, the greater the Queen’s contentation. Not less than six, of these three to be Earls, the rest Lords of Parliament. Of the Earls, some of the following : Angus, Crawford, Mar, Cassils, Glencarn, Bowclcu, Monteith. Of the Barons, Lords Hume, Lindsay of Byrris, Ruthven, Oliphant, Glamis, Grey, Ogilvy, Simple, Innermeath, Stuart of Ochiltree, Maxwell. In place of an Earl two Lords of Parliament, or two heirs-apparent of Earls, such as the Earl of Argyll’s brother, etc.”

Whatever may have been the real intention of Elizabeth at this juncture, which on most occasions was difficult to decipher, Sir William Cecil at any rate seems to have acted in the belief that the proposal to release Mary was a serious attempt to solve the inter-party feeling which raged in Scotland. Its failure may be largely accounted for on the set of conflicting circumstances which immediately arose, for which the Queen of Scots was partly responsible. In her haste she had taken a false step, which proved to be both a temptation and a snare. The Duke of Châtelheraut, who had just returned from France, she commissioned to proceed to Scotland as her Deputy-Lieutenant, with similar commissions to the Earls of Huntly and Argyll to serve under him in their respective districts. At this time Lord Ogilvy was in close friendship with the Earl of Huntly and his chief coadjutor in the north. While the prompt measures taken by the Regent Moray prevented any concerted action of a formidable nature, the ambitious schemes of the Marian party were for the moment frustrated but not extinguished. The death of the Regent and the interval of five months before his successor was appointed gave the Queen’s party the opportunity of organising their efforts in favour of Mary. They essayed the bold attempt to hold a Parliament at Linlithgow, which was defeated by the Earl of Lennox, the new Regent. The Earls of Huntly and Crawford, and Lord Ogilvy, availing themselves of their influence in the north, had succeeded in raising a considerable force, and, taking

possession of Brechin, determined to seize the rich Abbey of Arbroath ; while negotiations for again placing Mary on the throne were opened with the King of Spain. There were thus gathered together, if time were allowed to ripen the scheme, all the elements of civil war. The Earl of Morton was at once despatched with a strong body of the King's forces, and inflicted such a blow on the rebels that they were utterly routed. Many who had been taken prisoners, although they had previously served in the King's army, were put to death. The principals escaped. Lord Ogilvy, who fled to the hills, found asylum among his numerous clansmen in the district of Clova, and having appointed his wife factor and commissioner of his estates, he, two months later, in October, 1570, escaped to France, where for two years he continued to reside in that hospitable country, which never failed to afford a pleasant refuge to the Scottish political offender.

After fully two years in exile, he was advised, not wisely, by his friends that the feeling caused by his disaffection had to a great extent subsided, and that he might venture a return to his native country. He did so in as unostentatious a manner as possible, and lived secluded at Airlie Castle. But on it becoming known, he was immediately apprehended and committed a prisoner in the Palace of Linlithgow. There he remained till May, 1576.

The monotony of prison life, even though the prison is a palace and the birthplace of his royal mistress, in whose cause he had so strenuously fought and for which he was now enduring a melancholy seclusion, was, to a fertile mind like his and to one like him in the flush of his manhood with all its multifarious energies, a hard experience, irksome and invidious. Unlike Sir John Gordon of Deskford, he would not seek to mitigate his lot by contriving escape ; he was much too loyal to constitutional authority to contemplate such a course. He was much too honourable to think of violating his bond. If he were to seek relief it would be in a constitutional process. To alleviate the situation, he made overtures to the Regent, the Earl of Morton, with the proposal that he might be

released from confinement in the Palace of Linlithgow, and be allowed to go into ward in Glasgow; proposing a number of his friends who were prepared to stand caution for his good conduct. The benefit that would accrue from such a change would be, that while still a prisoner of the State he would be free to move about within prescribed limits.

“LINLITHGOW,  
“5th and 6th May, 1576.

“Sureties of David Graham of Fintry, Alexander Ogilvy of Clova, James Carnegy of Kinnaird, and John Ogilvy of Balfour—that I, the said James, Lord Ogilvy, being relievit furth of the Palace of Linlithgow, where I presentlie remain, sall, within the space of aucht and forty hours thairafter, enter my person in ward within the city of Glasgow, and remain thairin, and in no way escape out of the saidis boundis till I be freed and relievit by our Soverane Lord, and his Highness Regent, under the pane of ten thousand pounds.

(Signed) OGILBIE.”

Towards the middle of May he removed to Glasgow, where at that period he would be able to associate with many of his friends, as most of the west-country noblemen had their winter quarters in the city, being then, as it is now, the great centre of intercourse and commercial activity. There Lord Ogilvy remained in comparative freedom till the following February of 1577, when, “by ye solisitatioun of mony nobilmen being at ye mariage and banket in Glasgo of my Lord Rothes his dochter with ye maister of Eglintoun,” he was allowed to have his “ward transportit furth of Glasgo neirer (my owin countrie) to Sanct Androis.” Travelling to the Fife city by way of Edinburgh, he had an interview in the capital with the Regent, the Earl of Morton, which is worthy of notice. Ever loyal to the Queen of Scots, while in Glasgow he had received a cipher letter from Her Majesty, then a prisoner in Tuthbury, Staffordshire, which by the aid of “the Quiene’s alphabet” he was able to decipher. This meeting with the Regent and the topic of conversation are of historical importance, the substance of which he wrote to James Beaton, Archbishop of

Glasgow, Queen Mary's Ambassador to France. The correspondence, consisting of three letters, which are printed in the Appendix,<sup>1</sup> is of considerable interest as reflecting the uniform loyalty of Lord Ogilvy to the Queen of Scots, and especially so as representing the attitude of the Regent to the posture of affairs at this particular juncture, in which he spoke in the highest terms of Queen Mary and of his earnest desire to serve her.

"He spak verie reverantlie and with gryt honor of ye Quiene, protesting before his God he would not doe hir evil nor consent thairto for all ye gear in ye warld; and gif the King, his Maister, inlaikit,<sup>2</sup> als God forbid, he wold be all moyens seik to have off hir successioun to occupie hir room; and wold radder serve hir and hir race nor anie of ye warld as God was his juge; and furder, whaesuer columniatt him yat he had maid promis of ye King, hir sonne, to England, he tuik on his conscience yat he wes als frie of anie promis towards ye Quiene of England on yat behalf als onie man yat wes in ye Quiene's factioun or on yat syde as tyme suld gif experience."

In view of the fact that the Earl of Morton had not only been a most implacable enemy of Queen Mary but that it was he who produced at Westminster the famous casket containing, as he alleged, the evidence of her guilt, this profession of friendship was not above suspicion, and can only be explained by the knowledge that at the time the Regent was under a cloud, extremely unpopular in the country, and, as a matter of fact, was shortly afterwards compelled to resign the regency. To judge from the terms of this first letter, Lord Ogilvy appears to have entertained no doubt of the Earl of Morton's sincerity, and seems to have been favourably impressed by what could only be an assumed attachment, possibly in the hope of recovering his power, to attain which he was not unwilling to gain over such a stalwart adherent of the Queen's party as his lordship was. This favourable impression, however, was soon dissipated, as may be gathered from the third letter, in which he wrote: "be ye detentioun of Morton quha I believe sall shortlie get his condong recompence."

<sup>1</sup> Appendix I., p. 293.

<sup>2</sup> Died prematurely

At St. Andrews Lord Ogilvy remained in ward till 14th March, 1578, when, on James VI. assuming the authority of government, he was released by the royal clemency. Nine days later, at Stirling, he was appointed a Privy Councillor and subsequently one of a Council of twelve peers to assist the King in the administration of affairs. This exalted position, however, he held for little more than a month, as, like the Earl of Atholl, the newly-appointed Chancellor, the Earls of Eglinton and Caithness—prime favourites at Court—he lay under the deep suspicion, and not without some ground of reason, of having a leaning towards the old doctrines of the Papacy. Such unseasonable favours on the part of His Majesty to persons suspected of seeking to undermine the Protestant settlement aroused instant alarm among the people, and, mounting this tide of feeling, the Earl of Morton, possessing himself of the King's person, became again the master of the situation; whereupon Lord Ogilvy, fully alive to the design of the Regent, fled to his own country, where he took up residence at Bolshan Castle after an absence of nearly eight years.

Lord Ogilvy's mother, it may be remembered, was a Campbell, a niece of the Earl of Argyll. The feud between the Campbells and the Ogilvys had not yet arisen. Both were Lords of the Congregation and members of the Queen Mary party, and in a measure were in religious and political sympathy. The parting of the ways, it is true, soon came; but during the days of their friendship, his mother, then Countess of Crawford, while he was still in ward in St. Andrews, in his name and for his behoof, purchased from Colin, fifth Earl of Argyll, on 25th January, 1578, the lands and Castle of Farnell. The Castle, which is beautifully situated on the north bank of the Den of Farnell, was in a dilapidated condition, none of the apartments being habitable. Lord Ogilvy, shortly after his release, had it restored, and it became an occasional residence of the family. About this time, too, he obtained a Charter from John, Commendator of the Abbey of Arbroath, the last Charter the Abbey was to grant, of the lands of Little Kenny, Balfour, Kirk-

town, and Shangy. The life of a country gentleman, however, was not his destiny. He soon found himself again in the swim of political life. He had been appointed a member of Privy Council, and, like the Earls of Atholl, Eglinton, and Caithness, he was not a *persona grata* with the more pronounced section of Protestant feeling, inasmuch as at this time his adherence to the Reformed faith was under suspicion. He was even credited with having reverted to the old religion. At the General Assembly, on 24th April, 1578, the matter of his appointment to the Privy Council was brought under review. As it happened, Lord Ogilvy, who was now in high favour with the King of Scots, had been elected one of His Majesty's Commissioners to represent him in the Assembly. A general charge was made on the floor of the High Court of the Church that several distinguished individuals who had recently been raised to high offices were supposed to be attached to the ancient faith and were unfriendly to the Protestant Establishment. This was a direct challenge, and as such it was regarded by the King's Commissioners, who immediately demanded that the names of the suspected persons should be given, and these were speedily forthcoming. They were the Earls of Atholl and Caithness, and Lord Ogilvy.

It may be advisable, seeing Lord Ogilvy's attitude to the Reformed faith was under a cloud, briefly to describe the situation, and to show the trend of things, in order to ascertain how this suspicion arose and what warrant there was for its existence, especially as it concerns not only his own but also the attitude of the Airlie family to ecclesiastical politics. The General Assembly of this year was noteworthy as marking a definitive stage in the development of Church polity. The foundation was then laid of what was afterwards recognised by Parliament as containing its law and polity—the Second Book of Discipline. Whereas, in 1560, the Reformers were mainly concerned about the purity of Protestantism, and guided largely by the spirit and attitude of John Knox, who held the view that while Episcopal government was perfectly lawful it might not always be expedient, adopted Presby-

tery as convenient under the circumstances. But many of the nobles, and in certain parts of the country the body of the people, were as seriously inclined to Episcopal orders, and gradually agitated in favour of their preference. In 1572, by what is known as the Concordat of Leith, Episcopacy was adopted, and this was confirmed later in the year by a General Assembly held at Perth. While many of the people accepted the new form with reluctance, others hailed it with joy. The new Bishops, it is true, were in many quarters derisively called "Tulchans," a Gaelic word which means "make-believe." This new order, however, was short-lived. Three years later, Andrew Melville, at least as great a force as John Knox, came upon the scene. To him Episcopacy was anathema and contrary to the Scriptures. By his great intellect and power of dialectic, as by his true nobility of character, he exerted a wonderful influence over ecclesiastical affairs. He immediately set about a reformation of the Church according to his ideal, and resolved to extirpate the Episcopal order as soon as possible and establish the Presbyterian system pure and simple. Now, Lord Ogilvy, always a moderate Protestant, was never a hearty Presbyterian, and as this movement developed he found himself gradually getting out of sympathy with it, and by the time the General Assembly met in 1578, when the crisis came, he was naturally—and, judging from his after-life, not without reason—suspected of declining from the faith. At the time, however, he disclaimed the imputation that he had reverted to the ancient religion. To a Committee of Assembly, composed of clerical members appointed to catechise and admonish him to subscribe the tenets of the Reformed Church, he declared that he had formerly subscribed them and taken the Sacrament, and was willing to do so again. This settled the matter for the time being, and he was reinstated in his commission and took an active part in the business of the Assembly.

If the affairs of the Church were in a state of tension, those of the Government were no less strained, and Lord Ogilvy found himself equally involved in the welter of the

civil as in the ecclesiastical struggle. The Earl of Morton, who had resigned the regency when the King, then a boy of twelve years of age, assumed the government, had again seized the reins of power, not as Regent but as Adviser to the King. On his resignation James had selected a Council to manage the affairs of the State, of which Lord Ogilvy was a member. It was now the policy of the ex-Regent to get behind this body of Councillors and, using the influence which he still possessed with the King, to exercise the authority he had formerly enjoyed. Perhaps he overdid his part. At least, he had not bargained with the deep cunning of the youthful Sovereign, who, thus early in his career, acquired the art of making one hand wash the other. The King's Councillors, the Earls of Atholl, Argyll, and Montrose, and the Lords Lindsay, Maxwell, Ogilvy, and Herries, who had their headquarters in Edinburgh, sent two of their number, the Earl of Montrose and Lord Lindsay, to protest against the action of the Earl of Morton, and they having stated their objections, found themselves confined to their lodgings, and were prohibited from leaving Stirling without the King's permission. But the Earl of Montrose contrived to escape to Edinburgh, carrying, it is believed, a letter from James to the above-mentioned Councillors, entreating to be delivered from the power of the ex-Regent. These lords were all of the Queen Mary party, and were to prove themselves as loyal to the son as they had been true to his mother. They at once gathered their forces. From the Braes of Airlie and the hills of Atholl, from the Mearns, Argyll, and Menteith, the clans were summoned to arms in defence of the boy-King. As the Earl of Morton had not been idle, the two forces met in the neighbourhood of Falkirk, and there was every appearance that the country was on the brink of civil war. But opportunely, an Ambassador, Robert Bowes, sent by Elizabeth, interfered, and by diplomatic means prevented bloodshed.

The Earl of Morton, undismayed, pursued the even tenor of his way, not knowing what had taken place in secret. In the Cecil Calendar there is a document which

throws a considerable amount of light on certain events of this period in which Lord Ogilvy was concerned, and his conduct can only be understood in the knowledge of it. On 26th September, 1580, James VI. made a solemn compact with the Marian lords—at least, with the chief of them. The date of this document is as significant as the names adhibited to it, or the title it bears :

“Bond for mutual support and defence entered into by the King of Scots, Duke Lennox, and diverse noblemen.”

Among the signatures to this “Bond” is “Ogilbe.”

Three months later, James, Earl of Morton, at a meeting of the Privy Council held at Holyrood Palace, and in presence of the King, was charged to his face as being “art and part” in the murder of Darnley nearly fourteen years before. Though he stoutly denied complicity in that foul deed, he was straightway conveyed to prison to await the charge. Whether on the ground that his friends were agitating in his favour, or to prevent such agitation having effect, Lord Ogilvy, who was a sworn enemy of the ex-regent, signed a “Protest,” early in 1581, “against the Parliament doing anything derogatory to the Acts anent the murderers of Kings.” If a straw shows how the wind is blowing, the “Protest” indicates the temper of mind in which he approached the charge against the Earl of Morton. It was by no means a judicial attitude on the part of one who was to sit in judgment, and whose duty it was, according to every known principle of right, to “do justly.” But policy more than justice was the determining factor of the age, when it was thought in no way objectionable

“ . . . for juries to give their verdict  
As if they felt the cause, not heard it.”

The trial of the ex-Regent has been described as a conspiracy under the guise of law. It was little short of it, since the majority of the assizers, including Lord Ogilvy, were known to be his deadly enemies and had decided upon their verdict before the case was heard.

But the next exploit in the life of Lord Ogilvy in redemption of the "Bond of mutual support and defence" was more to his credit, as it must have been more agreeable to his nature and his sense of chivalry. James VI., who was a mere infant when he ascended the throne, had, by the time of what is known in history as the "Raid of Ruthven," reached the age of sixteen—a precocious youth with more learning than wisdom, and a modicum of good sense if he had only been blessed with a more steadfast purpose. He was passionately addicted to favourites, showing great partiality for those who were within the ambit of his patronage. The persons in high favour at this time were those who were signatories of the "Bond of mutual support and defence," the chief of whom were the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Arran. This partiality was bound to excite jealousy in the other section of the nobility and, as it did, even engender the spirit of discontent. A group of nobles of whom the Earls of Gowrie and Mar, Lord Lindsay and the tutor of Glamis, were the chief, who had been the close friends of the deceased Earl of Morton, and who regarded his execution as a crime, formed a plot to remove the King's favourites from Court, and this they proposed to accomplish by forcibly seizing the King's person, which, during his minority, was the ordinary mode of changing an administration. Fortune favoured the plotters. James chanced to be on a hunting expedition in the neighbourhood of Perth, at the time when the conspiracy was ripe. The Earl of Gowrie, on 23rd August, 1582, invited His Majesty to Huntingtower Castle, having previously arranged for the presence of the above-mentioned noblemen. The King was shrewd enough to see, from the composition of the company, that he had been trapped, and soon learned that escape was in vain. He was removed to Stirling and the conspirators assumed the authority of government.

So soon, however, as His Majesty's seizure became known, another set of noblemen, comprising most of those who had entered into the "Bond of mutual support and defence," and, according to Balfour's "Annals," the

Earls of Huntly, Crawford, Montrose, Caithness, Rothes, and Lord Ogilvy, formed the determination to rescue him and overthrow the new Government. It was an age of plot and counter-plot, and the young King was an adept at playing a part. Leading the Gowrie faction to believe that he was perfectly satisfied with the state of affairs, he was allowed a certain amount of freedom, and having been removed to Falkland, the "Bond" confederates contrived to inform him that everything was in train for his release, and suggested how he should act. Summoning Captain Stewart, the Commander of his bodyguard, who was let into the secret, James rode to St. Andrews, and that night was safe in the Castle. Next morning he was surrounded by the noblemen named above, while the Gowrie conspirators fled into England.

But what of Mary Stewart, Queen of Scots? Had Lord Ogilvy, now that he was in the stream of politics, civil and ecclesiastical, been all this time so engrossed in the affairs of State that he had forgotten his royal mistress? or did the "Bond of mutual support and defence" into which he had entered with the son preclude him from further agitation in favour of the mother? He never lost sight of the fact that Mary was a prisoner, and he left no stone unturned that might help on her restoration to her people. Though it refers to a later date than the matter that is about to be dealt with, there is a letter of his which shows that uppermost in his mind was the fate of Mary. It is addressed "To the richt honorable" and his "luiffing broder, the Laird of Edzell," and is dated 1st March, 1586.

"The bruit remans aye the mair constante of the executions of our Quiene, and yat yer is sum gryt men of ingland quha favort her proceedings, fugitive and cummand in Scotland for present relief. Ye desyre me to bestowe sum few lynes on you concerning my planting. Truly, albeit I be elder, I will giff you place as maist skeilful yerin. Youre thousand birkis sall be richt welcum. I wolde wische to God yat we quhom are ordanit to be brodirs war like ane busshe of hard knout wandis, quhilke war not able to be lowist.

(Signed) OGILVE."

It may be recalled that in the General Assembly of 1578 he was suspected of having reverted to the ancient religion. He denied this at the time, but it would seem that he had travelled far and fast since then on the decline from Protestantism. If, in 1581, he had not actually returned to the fold of Catholicism, he was by this time an indifferent adherent of the Reformed faith. The effect of this will be seen presently in his changed relations with the Earl of Argyll, but meantime he had entered into close fellowship with the Duke of Lennox, who, notwithstanding his professed conversion to Reformed doctrine, was heart and soul a Catholic, and whose sole aim in coming to Scotland, at the instigation of the Duke of Guise, was to restore Mary to her native country and with her the Catholic religion. The plot was deeply laid and its tentacles were far-reaching. If it failed, it was not for the want of distinguished patronage, strong influence and efforts, and, as will be seen, Jesuitical intrigue.

As Lord Ogilvy was deeply involved in what was nothing short of conspiracy, it may be well to state his attitude to religion generally. He was not a philosopher who could take a broad mental survey of scholastic teaching, and had not the subtle intellect to discriminate between the essential elements of Catholic truth and the superstructure of Romanism. He was a man of feeling, and whatever appealed to his emotions commanded his loyalty and belief. Sincere, reverent and devout, he was sentimental rather than rational, more imaginative than logical, and to him religion was an ideal which found expression in æsthetic forms, rites, and ceremonies. The external draperies of religious worship were to a mind like his essential, as he could only grasp the substance through the shadow. Consequently, as the Church of the second Reformation gradually threw off all these aids to worship, he as gradually cooled in his adherence to it, and at length, when it came forth in the broad phylactery of Hildebrandism, he as good as left it. He was thus, when the great temptation came to him, to all intents and purposes, though not as yet openly, a Catholic.

Ever since Mary Stewart was known to be a prisoner in England the Catholic influence had set to work to accomplish her liberty, and if possible to reinstate her in authority. The efforts of her Scottish adherents have already been mentioned. But now a more formidable effort than any hitherto attempted, at the instigation of such powerful agents as Philip II. of Spain, the Guise family, and Pope Gregory himself, and through means both insidious and sinuous, was to be made. To pave the way, emissaries of the College of Jesuits invaded the country and carried on a secret propaganda. As is their wont, they chose the way of least resistance by selecting those persons whom they knew to be susceptible to their influence and in sympathy with their views. The fruit of their labours will be seen in Lord Ogilvy and his family. Indeed, for the next twenty years the headquarters of the Jesuits in the Midlands of Scotland were at Airlie and Forther Castles and at Craig House, whence they sallied forth on their missionary labours, and where persecuted Catholics found a hospitable asylum.

According to Hume Brown, on the authority of Spanish State Papers, a secular priest, named William Watts, was despatched by the Spanish Ambassador in London to ascertain the feeling in Scotland towards Mary and the Catholic religion. Through the mediation of the Duke of Lennox, the chief counsellor of the King, he had a secret interview with James, to whom there can be no doubt he would give a most plausible version of the intention and purpose of the movement, and as little doubt that he would keep back the real project that was in the minds of his masters, which was nothing short of the conversion of the King to Catholicism, or, failing this, his deposition or forcible conveyance from the country, preliminary to the restoration of the Queen of Scots. From the royal presence he went forth to interview the chief members of the nobility who were known or suspected to be favourable to the ancient religion, and among these was Lord Ogilvy, who, according to the report, expressed himself in favour of Mary and the Pope. Other Jesuit priests followed in quick succession, to

deepen the impression already made and to fortify the hearts of the conspirators. It is evident that James suspected nothing hostile to himself or antagonistic to his authority, as he not only continued to be friendly to the noblemen of the "Bond of mutual support and defence," but at this juncture showed especial favour to some of them by promotion to higher rank; Lord Ogilvy being appointed an Extraordinary Member of the King's Council. The conspiracy, however, did not reach fruition. As often happens,

"The best laid schemes o' mice and men  
Gang aft agley,  
An' lea'e us nought but grief and pain  
For promised joy."

Other forces, taking alarm, asserted their power, and, gaining the ascendancy, frustrated the attempt to re-establish the Catholic religion, and with it to reinstate the Queen of Scots. The latter especially was a great disappointment to Lord Ogilvy, for his loyalty to Mary was unquenchable, and he was prepared to risk everything for her release and safety. The letter of 1st March, 1586, the year before her death, shows that the thought of her was uppermost in his mind, and that to him she was still "our Quiene." When at length the intelligence of her execution reached the country, like the Earl of Bothwell and many others, he was not only distracted with grief but furious to avenge the crime, and declared that the most suitable mourning was a coat of mail. His resentment was deep as his purpose was steadfast. It was not a spasm of the moment which a quick-tempered man feels in the heat of passion, blazing up in fury and as quickly subsiding; it was the resolute determination of a cool and calculating nature whose feelings lie deeply entrenched in the moral fibre of his being, but when roused are not easily allayed. He did not readily forget, as he was slow to forgive. He felt that it was his honour as it was the passionate desire of his heart to free the blasted fame of his royal mistress from imputed guilt. But he failed to recognise, as some more shrewd

members of the party who looked with favour on the mediæval system discerned, that the last hope of achieving their purpose perished when Mary Stewart, Queen of Scots, exhausted her full cup of sufferings on the scaffold. It was in vain that he continued to agitate that justice should be done. He could neither see nor would he admit that the cause which she represented died with her. The following letter shows at once the temper of his mind at this period and the hopelessness of his efforts. It is dated 16th September, 1588, and was written by Richard Douglas to his brother, Lord Archibald Douglas, Scottish Ambassador to the Court of England :

“ There has been in a house of the Lord Ogilvy in Angus, at the marriage of Sir John Seton, a number of noblemen, as is thought malcontented of the present state, but I think surely, it shall produce nothing but shew their own folly.”

The date is interesting, as it is reminiscent of an Act of Parliament of the previous year which had for its object the pacification of the Highlands and Borders. This Act had an amusing prelude which, perhaps more than anything else in his reign, shows the whimsical character of James VI., who, conceiving the idea of terminating all clan feuds, summoned the nobility to attend upon him at Holyrood House. Lord Ogilvy like the rest of them obeyed the royal command. The King of Scots entertained the assembled noblemen at a banquet, and, after thrice drinking their health in the wine of France, called on them to lay aside henceforth all rancour, envy, and malice, and to pledge themselves to a bond of brotherly affection, declaring that he would in future be the mortal enemy of him who violated the pledge. A still more theatrical performance succeeded on the following night when the whole assembly of noblemen, with James at their head, set forth in procession, and in hilarious mood demolished the gibbets, and then visiting the Tolbooth Prison released such as were imprisoned for debt. At the Market Cross, where a table had been sumptuously spread with wine and toothsome delicacies, the nobility, in presence of a great concourse

of the people, pledged each other to the sound of trumpets and the roar of cannon—Ogilvy embracing Lindsay and Campbell clinking glasses with Ogilvy in the heartiest manner. Friendship reigned; feuds were buried. It looked like the dawn of the millennium, as if the great day of peace had descended on faction-stricken Scotland, such as the prophet had foreseen in rapturous vision, “when the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; . . . and the cow and the bear shall feed; their young ones shall lie down together; and the lion shall eat straw like the ox.” It was beautiful while it lasted, but it did not endure for long. While Lord Ogilvy was feasting at Holyrood House and toasting his brother-lords in eternal friendship at the Market Cross of Edinburgh, his sons were plotting mischief against the ancestral foes of their House on the upper reaches of Glenisla and on the border of Angus and Mearns. In the latter case, they revived the ancient feud between the Ogilvys and the Lindsays, which for half a century had been in abeyance; and in the former, they initiated strife, the bitterness of which was to endure for almost a hundred years, and to bring great destruction on the Airlic lands.

In the nature of things, Lord Ogilvy, “malcontented of the present state,” resenting the passive attitude of his compatriots towards the execution of Mary, and disappointed by seeing the Presbyterian System on the point of being established as the national form of religion, was induced, if not actually to join in the disturbance, at least not to discountenance it. But perhaps the chief cause of his present distemper of mind, as it was the source and inspiration of the disloyal and disruptive conduct of his sons, was the influence of the Jesuit priests, who, in great numbers, now overran the country, and whose aim it was to create disturbance among the populace and, if possible, incite an insurrection. For some months the Ogilvys waged warfare on their neighbouring clans inhabiting the Perthshire hills, and in time-honoured fashion fought and killed, plundered and destroyed. These clans, as it happened, were under the

protection of the Earl of Argyll, who, as will be seen, did not allow this depredation to go unpunished. But in the interval between the foray and the day of retribution, Lord Ogilvy was called upon to render an account of the conduct of his House to the King of Scots, who, rebuking him for the violation of his pledge, ordered him to find caution for his future good behaviour.

“ At Holyrood House, 10th December, 1590, Lord Ogilvy finds caution in 1000 merks that he and others for whom he is answerable by the laws and general bond, shall keep the King’s peace, and on nowise invade or oppress any of his Majesty’s subjects; and also that he shall make his men satisfy parties complaining, conform to the Act of Parliament made for quieting the Highlands and Borders in July, 1587.”

Up to 1590 the Campbells and the Ogilvys had been on friendly terms, and respected each other’s boundaries. They had even joined forces in administering punishment on “ the wicked Clan Gregor,” the common foe of both Houses. In the early days of the Reformation Lord Ogilvy and the Earl of Argyll were in religious and political sympathy; for although the former was moderate in his views, while the latter was somewhat rigid, they yet worked together in harmony. The parting of the ways soon came when Lord Ogilvy fell from Protestant grace, while the Earl of Argyll blossomed forth into a full-blown flower of the Presbyterian System. This divergence of view on many of the religious and political questions of the day led to controversy, and it was outwith the spirit of the age to agree to differ. Out of this disagreement the feud between the Campbells and the Ogilvys originated. The clans, knowing that their chiefs were at variance, took up their cause and made it their own. Looking across the hills at each other with jealous and sinister eyes, it only required occasion to excite their mutual hatred into active hostility. The Ogilvys, as stated, were the aggressors. They were the first to throw down the gage of battle and challenge a combat. If they did not directly attack the Campbells, they had raided and plundered the lands of people who enjoyed the protection of the Earl of Argyll; and

thus the great feud, beginning in 1591, between the Campbells and the Ogilvys, about which a great deal falls to be recorded for a considerable time to come, arose. Lord Ogilvy alleged that some of his clansmen had been slaughtered by Highlanders under the Earl of Argyll's protection, while the Earl, on the other hand, charged the Ogilvys with slaughtering certain hillmen who were in alliance with him. A deadly combat ensued. The Earl of Argyll, in full panoply of war, with a force of five hundred men, invaded the lands of Glenisla, and in the orthodox fashion of the period plundered the fields and destroyed the homesteads, exposing to the flames everything that was combustible. While Forthar Castle, but recently erected, withstood the siege, Craig House, the seat of Sir John Ogilvy, a cousin of Lord Ogilvy, a more vulnerable object of attack, was destroyed. It is said, as showing the bitterness of spirit that prevailed, that the Earl of Argyll sent Sergeant Campbell, one of his own clan, to lay it waste, but the sergeant, on reaching it, found that the place was occupied by an aged gentlewoman who was sick and bedridden, with two or three domestics. The heart of the man revolted from executing his commission under such circumstances, and he returned to headquarters reporting what he had seen, adding that it was a place of no strength and not worth demolishing. But the Earl of Argyll was not to be denied; he was out on an errand of retribution, and in a towering passion told his henchman that his duty was to obey orders, and he sent him back "to make the house a heap."

In terms of the Act of Parliament of 1587 to which he had only a few months ago been called upon to subscribe, Lord Ogilvy lodged a complaint before the King's Privy Council and sought redress :

**"COMPLAINT OF LORD OGILVY OF AIRLIE.**

"Although he has been his Majestie's faithful and obedient subject, submitting himself according to his Highness and the laws of the country; Yet, Archibald, Earl of Argyll and his friends upon what motive or occasion the said Lord Ogilvy

knows not, without ony deserving on his pairt, having concludit the wrack of his hous and friendship and being informit that he had retired himself in sober and quiet manner to dwell and mak his residence in Glenilay, had taken the opportunity to sett out certaine brokin hieland men—thai are to say, Jhone Campbell, bruthir to Campbell of Lochinvel; Jhone Dow McCondoquhy, in Inverness; Neill Leich, in Lochaber; Donald McCarlich in the Laird of Glenurquhart's landis; Allan Roy McInoig, sonne of the Laird of Glenco; Archibald Campbell of Persie; Colin Campbell of Glenlyon; Archibald Campbell, his bruther; Jhone McRannald in Lochaber; quha in the month of August last bipast, to the number of 500 men of the country of Argyll, dwelling for the maist pairte within the samyn and resett thairin with the guidis and depredations underwryttin: of sett purpose and deliberatioun to have slane the saidis Lord Ogilvy and to have wrackit and spuilveit the country; like as upon the XXI. day of August last bipast thai enterit in Glenilay under silence of nicht with sic force and violence that the saidis Lord Ogilvy, lying sae fer from his friends, upon sic suddentie wes nocht abil to resist thame, but with gryt difficultie and short advertisement, he, his wyffe, and bairnis having eschaped, thai enterit in the country with sic barbourous crueltie not spairing wyffes nor bairnis but murthourit and seas all quhom thai fand thairin to the number of XXII. persons, and spuilveit and away took ane gryt number of nolt, scheep, and plennissing to the utter wrack and undoing of the hail poor inhabitants of the country."

It was a serious indictment, especially as James had set his heart on extinguishing all such clan hatred. In the light of that whimsical "love-feast" with its pledges of eternal friendship, this ebullition of feudal animosity was a proof that at this period, as had been the case for centuries, the nobility were a law unto themselves, and disregarded the statutes of the realm when it suited their own sinister purpose. This is very clearly seen in the sequel; for, while it is recorded in the Privy Council Register that

"His Majesty, by order of Privy Council, directed that a letter should be written to the Earl of Argyll and his friends to retire to their own country, and cease to molest Lord Ogilvy and his friends under the pain of treason,"

no notice was taken of it by the Earl of Argyll, who, a month after its receipt, again mustered his forces and

invaded Glenisla in the most ruthless manner, and according to the evidence of William McNicoll, Little Forther,

“spulyeit all thair guidis, including scheep, nolt, and horses, with the exceptioun of 70 cows and oxen only that were sent to Glenshee for safety.”

And as if to make good their defiance of the King's command, the Campbells carried their work of destruction as far east as Glen Clova, where, after plundering the Glen, they demolished the ancient Castle of Clova. Though summoned to appear before the King in Council, they disregarded the citation, when the Earl of Argyll and the chiefs of Clan Campbell were, at the Market Cross of Edinburgh, denounced rebels.

Lord Ogilvy had by this time completed the restoration of Farnell Castle, which, it will be remembered, he had purchased from the Earl of Argyll. Being now ready for occupation, it was a highly opportune circumstance that he was thus able to remove out of the danger zone of the Campbells, since Forther Castle, where he had resided for the last five years, had become untenable through the bitterness of feeling resulting from the forays just described. But if he had got away from the Campbells, he had come nearer to the Lindsays, and as he does not seem to have taken the proclivities of his sons into his reckoning, he soon found that he was “out of the frying-pan into the fire.” Lord Ogilvy had himself been reconciled to the Lindsays chiefly through the marriage of his mother to the Earl of Crawford, and his personal inclination to live at peace with them may be gathered from the letter of 1586 to the Laird of Edzall :

“I wolde wische to God yat we quhom are ordainit to be brodirs war like ane busche of hard knout wands, quhilke war not able to be lowest.”

His sons, however, did not share either his views or his feelings. In the hot temper of youth they did not forget that the Lindsays were the hereditary foes of their House. Their exploits will be related in the proper place; but meantime it may be mentioned that no sooner were they

planted within sight of the lands of the Lindsays than they revived the ancient feud and with it all that bitterness of feeling and clan hatred which had been so mercilessly denounced from the High Altar by Cardinal Beaton. The fact was that Lord Ogilvy's sons had got thoroughly out of hand, and he had lost, as he frankly confessed in the following protest to the King at Montrose, all control over them :

“ Lord Ogilvy appearid personally before his Majesty protesting that albeit he has subscribed an assurance for himself and his friends to Alexander Lindsay, Lord Spynie and others, yet, he shall not be held by the generality of the said assurance to answer for so many of his kin and friends, but held that they should be answerable for them and theirs according to their own assurances. His Majesty admitted the protest.”

But James found occasion shortly thereafter to change his mind on the irresponsibility of parents for the misdemeanours of their sons, and so on a further outbreak of the Ogilvys, His Majesty, in the spirit of the ancient Spartans who punished the parents for the misdeeds of their children, confined

“ Lord Ogilvy in his place at Arbroath, to remain in ward there till freed and relieved under pain of rebellion and to find caution in 10,000 merks to keep the peace.”

The King of Scots, however, had a warm regard for Lord Ogilvy and held him in high esteem. Notwithstanding the fickleness of his mind and his fluctuating policy, James did not forget any more than he failed to appreciate the ardent attachment to himself and the unfailing loyalty to his mother, through good and bad reports, of the Chief of the House of Airlie. He signified his appreciation on several occasions, and notably in 1596, on the Coronation of his brother-in-law, Christian IV. of Denmark and Norway, when he sent Lord Ogilvy on a solemn embassy to represent him on this great function of State. The report of the mission is thus recorded in the King's Privy Council Register :

“ The Quhilk day in presence of the King's Majestie his nobilitie, Counsall, and Estates presentlie convenit : Comperit

personally James, Lord Ogilvy and Maister Peter Young of Setoun his Hieness' Elimosinaire, and reportit their negotiatiouns and proceedingis within the realms of Denmark, according to his Majestie's Commissioun and instructiouns gevin to thame thairanent: Craving his Hieness' exoneration and discharge. Thairupon the King's Majestie with advice of his saidis nobilitie, Counsall, and estates foirsaidis, having hard and considerit of thair saidis proceedingis: Findis, and Declaris, That they have faithfullie, truelie, honourable and dewtifullie usit and execute thair saidis commissioun in all thingis accordinge to the tenour of the samyn and instructiounes foirsaidis gevin to thame thairanent: And exoneres and Dischairges thame thair of. And ordaines an Act to be maid heirupon ad futuram rei memoriam."

Lord Ogilvy, in the year 1558, married Jean, eldest daughter of William, seventh Lord Forbes of Forbes on Donside, Aberdeenshire, and his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Keith of Inverugie. Lady Ogilvy was one of a family of fourteen children—six sons and eight daughters. She came of an ancient and honourable race whose lineage dates back to early in the thirteenth century; the Charter for the lands of Forbes being granted by Alexander III. On her mother's side, she had an equally distinguished descent, the Keiths of Inverugie being an old Aberdeenshire family characterised by an intense loyalty to the throne.

Lady Ogilvy came of a strongly Protestant family, Lord Forbes having joined the Lords of Congregation at the Reformation, while her brother, succeeding in 1593, was a strong adherent of the Reformed Church and took up arms in the King's forces against the Catholic lords in 1594. The likelihood is that it was largely on the ground of her pronounced views on Protestant doctrine that Lord Ogilvy's inclination to revert to the ancient religion was for a long time held in check; but while her influence may have restrained him for a period, it did not prevent him in the end identifying himself with Catholicism. A woman of remarkable strength of character, of practical mind, and with a fine aptitude for business, in 1570, when Lord Ogilvy, to escape the pursuit of the Earl of Morton, fled to France, he left her

"Factor and Commissioner" of the Airlie estates, and for the space of eight years she administered the affairs of the property with considerable success, though at times, it would seem, she ruled with a high hand.

The marriage of Lord and Lady Ogilvy issued in a family of eight sons and one daughter :

1. James, Master of Ogilvy.

2. Sir John Ogilvy of Craig, who had an eventful career. So far as religion was concerned, he was from his early manhood a pronounced Catholic to whom Protestantism was anathema. He scorned the Reformed doctrine and ignored the Church of Knox as an heretical schism. The Jesuits who invaded the country in the days of his youth found in him material altogether susceptible to their immediate purpose, and in him they discovered a ready convert as well as an apt pupil of their College. A fiery youth, impulsive, rashly daring, with no restraining force in his nature, for him there was no middle course, no debatable position, but the bold assertion of his belief proclaimed from the house-top. While the cooler temperament of his father made him temporise, he at once ran his colours to the mast-head that all men might see the flag of his faith floating on the breeze. He was an ardent Catholic, a zealot for the ancient religion, and was hand in glove with the Jesuitical movement to re-establish the Papacy in Scotland. As anyone who knows the history of the period will readily understand, the persecution of Roman Catholics towards the close of the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth centuries was very severe, and especially a Catholic who had lapsed from Protestant surroundings was hardly dealt with. As it happened, Sir John Ogilvy's conversion to the old religion fell athwart the time when James VI., after a long and circumspect seat on the fence, had at last come down on the side of Protestantism as the cause most likely to accomplish his design, and was in the mood to show "his zeal for the Lord," and to give unmistakable proof of the sincerity of his convictions. Sir John was thus one of the first victims of the royal campaign against

Catholics. Adopting the policy ascribed to John Knox, "Down with the crows'-nests," on 12th February, 1594, the King of Scots launched unsparingly the thunderbolt of his wrath against this scion of the House of Airlie.

"The King and Council having resolved that the Fortalice of Craig belonging to Sir John Ogilvy of Craig shall be demolished from March next by the sheriff of Forfar and his Deputes, with the assistance of the Barons and landed men of the said shire; and also of the Provost, Bailies, Council and inhabitants of Dundee, be quhome alsua a sufficient of pionaris and workmen, furnisit and providit with pikkis, matlockies gavillokis and uther necessair provisioun, meit for the demolissing and casting down of the said place; sall be direct onte thairto, as requirit be the said Sheriff: it is hereby orderit that Patrick, Lord Gray, Sheriff-Principal of the said Shire and his Deputes, sall under pain of rebellion cause demolishe the said place; and this in sign and memory of the rebellion and defectioun of the said John Ogilvy from God, his true religion, the King's Majestie—his Soverane Lord and his authoritie."

This drastic measure had little effect on Sir John Ogilvy, who did not abate in the least his ardour for Catholic propaganda. Persecutions, instead of weakening, only confirmed him in the faith he had espoused, which led him to redouble his efforts. And so, seven months later, on 30th September, 1594, he was "put to the horn and denounced rebel"

"for failing to appear at a meeting of the Privy Council to answer to the charge of treasonable resett, intercommuning and traffic-giving with conspirators against the true religion and for his open avowing of papistrie."

The following letters are illuminative of the part taken by James in this campaign against his subjects professing the Catholic faith. The first is dated 14th October, 1594, and is from John Colville to Sir Robert Cecil:

"His Majesty by the way has razed the houses of Mr. Walter Lindsay, and of John Ogilvy, second son to the Lord Ogilvy."

The second is dated 22nd October, 1594, and is from John Colville to Henry Loke:

“For our estate, his Majesty, I assure you, goeth roundly against the papists, Mr. Walter Lindsay’s, John Ogilvy’s, Abergeldie’s, and Cluney’s houses already cast down.”

Sir John Ogilvy, homeless, and with the heavy hand of the Sovereign upon him, took refuge abroad, and finding an asylum in France, remained there in the brotherhood of Jesuits till the King of Scots, who had begun to enjoy the near prospect of his accession to the throne of England, had assumed a more conciliatory attitude, when he returned to his beloved Glenisla. His fellowship with the Jesuits in France and Spain, however, had only fortified his adhesion to Catholicism, and he was no sooner settled among his native hills than he resumed his activities, when his home in the Glen became a rendezvous for priests and the chief centre of Jesuitical propaganda throughout the Midlands of Scotland. The Protestant clergy of the district now took up the case against him, and, with the aid of a sympathetic civil authority, as has ever been their wont, pursued him with relentless persistency and unremitting rancour. At their instance, and on the charge of being “a resetter of Jesuit and Mass Priests,” he was imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh in 1628. There he was kept in close confinement for over a year, when, in November, 1629, he petitioned the Lords of the Privy Council, “in respect of my heavie diseases,” to change his ward to the town, so that he “might have easier access to means of cure and support,” complaining that the result of his long imprisonment had been “the appearand ruine of my aged bodie which is much altered and my estait much harmed there-through,” and humbly entreats “the saidis Lords out of thair awin goodness,”

“seeing his disease and debts are so increased, to have consideratioun tharof and to grant unto him an enlargement from this incommodious imprisonment and that he may be confined in the Town of Edinburgh in free ward the tyme of this cold winter; whereby his distresses may be recovered, and that he may take order with his estait, which, with his bodie, is mightilie overthrown.”

The Lords of Council granted the prayer of his petition, and Sir John Ogilvy was allowed to live alternately in Edinburgh and St. Andrews under a modified restraint. Now over sixty years of age and his bodily health being much impaired, he was shortly after permitted to return to his home upon the expressed condition of "ane sober and modest behaviour without scandal or offence to the Kirk." Unfortunately for himself, however, he did not keep his promise. He was no sooner in Glenisla than he at once resumed his traffic with Jesuits. On inquiry it was found that—

"since his going home, he has behaved himself very scandalously, daily conversing with excommunicated persons, privately resetting seminary and Mass priests, and restraining his bairns and also his servants from coming to the Kirk, to the high offence of God, and disgrace to his Majesty's Government."

For this offence he was ordered to go into ward at St. Andrews. In obedience to the Lords of Council he set out for the Fifeshire city; but,

"suffering from giddiness in his head, so that he was unable to travel on horseback for fear of falling from his horse, he was compelled, although with great pane and travell, to make the journey on foot, being led all the way with two men; at last he attained with great trouble the town of Dundee. And now, it has pleased God to visit him with ane heavie sickness, the which doeth increase the more upon him be reason that he has not the benefit of so wholesome and free air as he was accustomed to have."

He entreats the Lords to allow him to return to Glenisla, "where, if I die, I shall have the comfort of my wife and children."

The Presbytery of Meigle on this occasion interposed its authority and demanded of the Privy Council that Sir John Ogilvy should be banished the country as a dangerous conspirator against the settled order of Church and State. He had so often broken his bond and so artfully deceived them during the space of thirty years, that he had come to be regarded as irredeemably lost to all sense of truth and honour. There was nothing for it

but that he should be banished, and his brother, Francis, became caution for him that he should leave the country. But he had learned the ways of the Jesuits to some purpose. He was artful and sinuous and not easily daunted. Glenisla had not seen the last of him if he could otherwise help it. He was not without friends in high places, and he could trade on this fact, and perhaps relied upon it to a considerable extent. He at least succeeded in getting the date of his banishment postponed "till he had acquired the means of his aliment abroad." But the Lords of Council had now to lay their bargain with the ministers of Meigle Presbytery, who were out for their "pound of flesh." On perceiving this, Sir John capitulated and, early in 1631, offered terms which

"he was content be enjoined to him under what penalty the Lords shall think for giving satisfaction to the Presbyterie of Miggill in thair letter sent to the Bisshop of Brechin, to the end that he may repair to his own home again and remain there without offence."

"OFFERIS OF SIR JOHN OGILVY OF CRAIG.

"Imprimis, I am content to be obliged for causing my sone upone whom they complain and the remnant of my children and domestics to resort to the Church every Sabaoth where possiblie they may.

"Nixt: That I shall trawail noveys upone the Sabaoth fra my owen house or profane the same be ony sclanderous behaviour in my owen person, nor any that are in my powar.

"Nixt: I am content to be confnyed within the boundis of two mylees about my owen hous.

"Nixt: not to resett any Jesuit or mess priest within my hous, nor be found resonying agane the religion presentlie professed in the Kirk of Scotland.

"Finalie: because it is allaiged the Bischop of Sanet Androis promised to them that my ward sould not be inlaired except I gaive satisfactioun to the Presbyterie of Miggill, I am content that the libertie which I craive to retourne to my owen hous be grantit only to continue till my Lord Arch Bischop of St. Androis retourns, at which tyme gif thir offeris schall not be thocht sufficiente be him for satisfactioun of the Presbyterie of Miggill, or gif in the mentymn I schall be fund to have transgressed in any of the promisses, in that kaiss I schall be

content that any punishment or penaltie be inflicted on me which the Lordes of his Majestie's most honourabill Privie Counsall schall find expediantt.

(Signed) Sr. JHONE OGILVY OF CRAIG."

The said "offeris" for his good behaviour had apparently been found by the Archbishop to be sufficient warranty, and for once it would seem he had implemented his bargain, as the curtain falls upon a long series of persecutions. Sir John Ogilvy, however, was not so near "the stroke of fate" as his "heavie disease" had led him to fear. Perhaps "the wholesome and free air as he was accustomed to have" had proved beneficial "to his aged bodie," for he recovered a remarkable energy and lived joyfully with his second wife, Euphemia Brown, and the little children of his old age, till about the year 1644.

3. David, who, by his second marriage to Nicholas, the only child and heiress of Patrick Guthrie of Pitmuies, was designated David Ogilvy of Pitmuies. He had all the proclivities of the family for bold adventure and heroic exploit. One of the quartette of brothers who made the Braes of Angus ring with the noise of their depredation, he was not the least aggressive or persistent. In the foray of the Ogilvys in Glenshee, which, as already stated, brought the full weight of the wrath of the Campbells upon the House of Airlie, he was a moving spirit and most forward in the fight. Although the family had been severely punished for this transgression of neighbourhood by the destruction of their lands, as also by the heavy penalty in the loss of life, this seems to have had little effect on David Ogilvy, as within a few months he was again engaged in hostilities in the Mearns, in a bitter feud with the Arbuthnotts. What gave rise to this quarrel is a matter of conjecture. "Behold, how great a flame a little fire kindleth!" An incautious word of criticism or rebuke, the scornful look of a proud lady, or the merest suggestion of indifference—these, together or separately, afforded a reason of ample magnitude for a state of belligerency. Whatever the cause may have been, it was a personal affront, to avenge which, on his

own initiative and responsibility, he collected his forces and raided the lands of Arbuthnott, pillaging and plundering, committing to the flames all that was combustible, and putting to the sword all who owned allegiance to that ilk. The result was that David Ogilvy was summoned to compear at a meeting of the Privy Council on 29th September, 1592, to answer for his misdeeds; and after being severely rebuked "for such wild and lawless conduct, unprovoked and unmerited," he was ordered "to find security for £1,000 not to harm Andrew Arbuthnott of that Ilk; Alexander Arbuthnott, Life-renter of Pitquhorthie; or Patrick Arbuthnott Fiar thereof."

The revived feud between the Ogilvys and the Lindsays, the chief fomentor of which was the Master of Ogilvy, found in David an enthusiastic second. The part he took in that long-drawn combat of arms, in combination with his brother, will be told presently, but the immediate effect of it to himself may be here recorded. Unlike his elder brother, Sir John Ogilvy of Craig—on the ground, perhaps, that he was not constituted with the same melancholy temperament and was less susceptible, or, it may be, more indifferent to the influence of religion, or, at least, to trouble himself over its fine discriminating points in respect to doctrine or polity—David Ogilvy adhered, as the majority of his brothers did, to the Reformed Church, and was all the more warmly attached to it on the revival of Episcopal orders.

As it happened, it was while returning from attendance at Divine worship that he met his fate. With a few of his clansmen as bodyguard, he had gone to Edinburgh, where he lodged in the Canongate, the aristocratic quarter of the period. This visit took place at the moment when the feeling aroused by the Ogilvy onslaught on the Lindsays was at its height, and when the latter were spoiling for revenge. If he had gone to the capital to escape the storm that was raging on the eastern border of Angus, he had committed a great mistake; as of all places in the country the city of Edinburgh was the least safe refuge in that turbulent age. Street

fights were of daily occurrence, and it was hardly possible to avoid meeting any day representatives of the several clans. On Sunday morning, 18th July, 1603, when the Civil Magistrates, rejoicing over the union of the Crowns, were perhaps not so strictly on guard as usual, David Ogilvy, unarmed, with no suspicion of danger, and with no thought of harm, and accompanied by his valet, William Innes, walked to the Abbey Church, where he joined in the religious service of the day. He little suspected that his movements were shadowed, and as little thought, while engaged in Divine worship, that a fellow-worshipper, screening himself in the dim light of the house of prayer, had already put in train measures for his destruction. David Lindsay, a bastard son of the Earl of Crawford, who had vowed vengeance on any or every Ogilvy who should come within his power, had followed him at a distance, and before entering the church had ordered his men to "lay at wait for him about the dykes of the Abbey yairds."

"After the ending of the sermon," as reported to the Privy Council, "and finding the said David Ogilvy with his said umquhile servand gangand in peceable and quyet maner fra the Kirk to thair owen lodging at the fute of the Cannongait, thay sett upon thame behind thair backs, and or ever they wer awar of thame maist shamefullie, cruellie and unhonestlie invadit and persewit thame of thair lyffes within a pennystane cast to his Majestie's Palise of Halyrood hous: strak thame baith to the eird, and, after many deidly wounds gevin to thame, lyand upone the eirth, left thame lyand for deid: of the quhilk wounds William Innes immediately departed this lyfe, and the said David Ogilvy is in grit hazard and peril of his lyfe, without ony hope of recoverie."

4. William, the only sedate member of the family, who kept himself singularly free from the rash exploits of his brothers. A harmless person of delicate constitution, he had neither the vigour of mind nor of body for the rough-and-tumble ways of his brothers, otherwise he would in all likelihood have been in the brulzie like them. A pensioner on the lands of Kirriemuir and Newtyle, he followed the quiet pursuits of country life in Glenisla.

5. Archibald, of whom nothing is known, but the presumption is that he died in early life.

6. Patrick, who is designated of Muirtown, is chiefly interesting from the fact that his two sons through his marriage with Isabella, daughter of James Murray, younger, of Smyddiehill, were distinguished, though in different ways. His elder son, George, who was employed raising soldiers for the wars in 1627, went to the Continent and joined the Imperial Service with the rank of Captain. He had a distinguished career in the Thirty Years War, and became Commandant of Speilburg. In reward for the service he had rendered, in 1649, as a cadet of the House of Airlie, he was admitted to the dignity of Earl in Germany, and took the title of "Baron Ogilvy De Muirton." The younger son, James, by his marriage with Catherine, daughter of Robert Nairn and widow of Walter Stewart of Cluny, brought Cluny into the Ogilvy family, and, as will be seen later, through the marriage of his great-granddaughter, it came into the Airlie family.

7. Francis, who in the days of his youth, when a mere stripling, joined his brothers in their feudal exploits. He married, while still in his "teens," Helen, only daughter of David Gardin of that ilk, the marriage contract bearing the date 1592. She had a tocher of 500 merks. Shortly after her death, in 1630, he married Elizabeth Adamson. Well into middle life, when one should have taught himself "the honourable step not to outsport discretion," he was found in open quarrel with his neighbour of the lands of Bonnyton. On 12th July, 1631, Sir Harry Wood, on account of an inveterate and long-sustained persecution, was compelled to petition the King and

"supplicate for summons against Francis Ogilvy his son, James Ogilvy, and Andrew Ogilvy his bastard son, David Ogilvy, his servant, and a number of others their followers; all armed with swords, staves, and other weapons, and the prohibited hagbuts and pistols; and who came on Sunday last to the Kirk of St. Vigeans (which is the supplicants Parish Kirk) and in contempt of the Lord's Sabbath, and in disgrace of his Majesty's Govern-

ment, ranked themselves in tyme of Divine Service at the Kirk door in militarie form and awaited a long tyme till thay sould have rancountered me and tane my life."

8. George, who was "dearest brother to James, Master of Ogilvy," a bold and impetuous youth who was in the heart of every fight and strove hard to rival even the most daring of his brothers in feudal hatred of the Lindsays. He was designated of Friock, and married Elspet, daughter of Robert Montgomerie, in Haltown, and Euphemia Guthrie, his wife.

9. Margaret, the only daughter of Lord and Lady Ogilvy, as might be expected from her association with such exuberant fraternity, had all the romantic elements of her race fully developed, and she achieved a notoriety in her own way, equal to that of her brothers. She was twice married, and both of her alliances were tinged with romance. Her first marriage, as his second wife, was to George, fifth Earl Marischal, one of the most cultured as he was perhaps the wealthiest nobleman of his age, who, himself a man of great learning, founded and endowed, in 1593, the College of the University of Aberdeen which bears his name. So long as he lived, her domestic life, in many respects a great trial, was comparatively happy. The chief cause of any disquietude she experienced was her stepson, Sir James Keith of Benholm, the heir to the title and estates. During the latter years of his father's life, he was the cause of much grief to him through undutiful conduct, and as after his death a great quarrel arose between him and Margaret Ogilvy, it may be advisable, in order to adjust the blame attaching to her, to know something of his character. The Earl wrote of him as

"having maist unkyndlie and unnaturalie schaikin at these respective dewties of consideratioun, quharin, in conscience before God and be the strict bandis of nattur, he standis bund unto me; and being unthankfull of the grite cair that I have laid of his education and of the estait and living quharunto I have provydit him, he hes withdrawn himself fra me and associat himself with some personis, enimeis to my hous, and quha huntis by all occasionis to mak thair advantage of this fyre of divisioun

quhilk they have raisit in my hous; and by thair counsallies he hes committ a number of insolences again me, quhairof some will resolve in criminal persuits and uthers in civil persuits."

If this may be taken as a true description of domestic affairs at Dunottar Castle during his father's lifetime, it is not the least surprising that trouble arose soon after his death. How far Margaret Ogilvy was concerned in this domestic dispeace does not appear. Nor does it appear how much, if at all, she contributed by her attitude to create or sustain it. Her subsequent conduct, however, suggests that she did not always act with prudence and discretion, and may not, perhaps, have been a paragon of the domestic virtues. But what induced her to act as she did, without apparent authority or consultation with her stepson, passes the comprehension as it amazed the public at the time. Immediately after her husband's death, she laid claim to, and took possession of, most of the valuables with which Dunottar Castle abounded, many of which were recognised heirlooms of the Keith family, and held by law to be inalienable. The list of articles of value as given in the case for the prosecution is remarkable, many of which were of great historical worth :

"Portugal ducats and other species of Foreign gold to the value of £26,000; 36 dozen gold buttons, a rich jewel set with diamonds, which the deceased Earl received when he was Ambassador at Denmark,—valued at 6,000 merks, the Queen of Denmark's picture in gold, set about with rich diamonds, estimated at 5,000 merks, a jaspar stone for stemming of blood, estimated at 500 French crowns, a chain of equal perle where were 400 pearls great and small, two chains of gold worth 3,000 merks, a great pair of bracelets all set with diamonds, the price thereof 500 crowns, another pair of gold bracelets at £600 per pair; a turquois ring, a diamond set in a ring, a number of small rings set with diamonds and other rich stones; also 16,000 merks of silver and gold ready coined which was within a green coffer; together with the whole tapestry, silver work, bedding, goods, gear, and plenishing within the said place of Benholm."

Margaret Ogilvy may have thought, as indeed most people at that period acted on the principle, that posses-

sion was nine points of the law, and that to have was to hold. The case, which excited widespread interest all over Scotland, came before the King's Privy Council, which adjourned the hearing from time to time; but on the trial being fixed, the King of Scots wrote to the prosecuting Council "to shew Margaret Ogilvy no favour." At last, after much wrangling and dispute, a compromise was effected between the contestants; the Countess Marischal, while she had to yield up the heirlooms, got her share of the jewellery and a large proportion of the plenishing.

By the time this lawsuit was settled, Margaret Ogilvy was within measurable distance of the proclamation of banns. If her first marriage was one of convenience, her second was one of mystery, and how she could reconcile herself to it requires a word of explanation. She lived in a turbulent age when the ways and manner of life even amongst the nobility were rough and tumultuous. From what has been recorded, and from what remains to be stated of her brothers, she had been accustomed, if not acclimatised, to boisterous conduct and feudatory strife. This was regarded as all in the family honour as in the day's work. Sir Alexander Strachan of Thornton, the boon companion of her wayward stepson, the aider and abetter of many of his foolish exploits, would appear to her to be much of a spirit and on a level with her own brothers. She had been accustomed to such pranks as that recorded by her late husband—

"that on the 16th October inst. the said James Keith, with Strauchane of Thornton and others, all armed, came about the glowming to the Mains of Fetteresso where the ploughs were going, which they brake in pieces, with the hail graith and ornamentis thair of."

This Alexander Strachan was the second husband of Margaret Ogilvy, and she made a man of him. After his marriage he settled down and became a useful member of society. She had great influence over him, and largely through her adroit and wise counsel he rose to distinction. In 1625 he was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia,

and along with Sir Robert Graham of Morphie represented his native county in Parliament.

The career of Lord Ogilvy has been described and his character portrayed as far as documentary evidence discloses the facts of his life and the disposition and attitude of his mind. A few matters still remain for statement, and especially one item which, more than any other, reveals the type of man he was and the kind of spirit which animated his life. This is a letter which he wrote to his grandson, James, who was the first Earl of Airlie. Shrewd, far-seeing, ever eager, as this narrative has shown, to leap into the saddle and draw the sword in a good cause, yet withal of a benevolent disposition and a sanguine temperament, he had the vision to see the sterling qualities which were to blossom forth in the rich and variegated life of his grandson, and anticipating from the promise of his youth that he would probably play an active, and it might be a prominent, part in the statecraft of his country, he thus sought to direct his youthful and aspiring mind to those stable matters of life most worthy of his consideration and his highest good—a clean life, a sincere regard for religion, a tolerant spirit, a charitable disposition, and an unfailing loyalty to the Sovereign. It is a document to possess which any noble family might feel justly proud, and it richly deserves a place in the history of the Ogilvys of Airlie :

“ Seeing it hes pleisit God, of His unspeakabill mercie, to bryng me through infinite trubil and feudis with honoure, ye particulars whair of I commit to uthirs declaratioun and in speciall to my wyffe, youre Guidam, quha knows best of ony lewand my estait, and of quhais counsall I pray you to follow, as ane quha hes lived maist cairfullie in yat hous for ye honoure and weil of it. God tooke my Lorde, my Guidsire, and my Father of Guid Memorys fra me of a few yeirs auld, and ye haill freindis and name all in ane daye. Sae I wes parentless and freindless altogethir. Quhat in my tyme I hev done for ye weifair of my hous my Charter Chest will testifie. Now efter a lang and trubilsome tyme yat I have lived in yis worlde, it hes plesit God, Fatherly, to visit me with extreme sair seikness, to

bryng me out of yis miserabill lyfe, to enjoy yat blest lyfe yat came never in ye heart of man to know quhat it is. Now, sine my request sall be to you,—gif yourself aluterly to God and His service, and to tak sum hours particularlie for yat effect; and to learn sum psalms and prayers perquire out of ye auld and ancient doctors, yat whan ye are in ye feilds, ganging or rydding, ye may meditat with God thairon. Haunt grave and wyse companie and frequent yourselfe meickle with redding historys.

“Honoure youre father and mother as ye are commandit. The breach whair of hes brocht kingdomes and housis to decaye, as daily experience giffs prooffe will be punishit as weil here as hereaftir; love and respect your freinds and followers thair of: and know thair naturis weil yat you may accommodat yourself thairto. Seeing many of thame hald nothing of you but Guidwill and Kyndness, be cheerful in youre countenance and readie and honest to thame, for it is a gryt tressure yat my hous hes, thair freindis. Eschew pryde sae far as is possibill in you, for it is a sin against God, and it hes brocht houssis in our tyme to ruine. Eschew covetousness, sic-lyke, quhilk is the root of all evil. Keep a cleyne lyfe, quhilk is werie acceptabil to God.

“Quhan it sall plese God yat you sall cum to ye Roume yat I and youre fathir possessit afore, hald ane guid and honest hous aye weil plenisit. Be favourabill to youre tenants. Place in youre Bailierys honest and discreet men to execute justice equallie amang thame; gif thame a guid continuance. And giff I have overseen,<sup>1</sup> myself or youre fathir, in taking more than eneuch fra thame, amend it; for thay say yat riche tenants mak a riche maister; for thay aucht, being ye image of God, to have ever the pairt of thair labours as ye Maister sould. Be helpful to ye poor, and look ever with pityful eyes upon thame. And seeing now-a-days many young scholars gif thameselfs curiously to understand Magick and Necromancy, quhilk are the grytest sins against God yat can be, and hes been ye destructioun of baith soul and bodie to many, and thair houssis, I will beseech you, name it nocht, never let yat enter youre mind. Betwixt Prosperity and Adversity, tak a magnanim pairt and constante course, neither with ye one to be puffed up, nor with ye uther to be dejectit; but to thank God for either of ye twa as thay sall happen. Serve and obey youre King above all worldlie thingis, for my hous hes ever done sae, and thay flourishit ye better. Albeit, in battle we receivit gryt skaith in thair service, yet God hes ever augment

<sup>1</sup> Overreached.

the number of us. Yis I end with God's blessing and mine to you, Guid Sire, and to youre broddirs and sisters.

(Signed) OGILBE.

ATT FARNELL,  
11th June, 1606."

Four months after this letter was written, in October, 1606, Lord Ogilvy died at Farnell. According to the terms of his will, he was buried "in my sepultrie in the Isle of the Kirk of Kynnell." As to all intents and purposes he had reverted to the ancient religion, the funeral service was conducted according to the imposing ritual of the Catholic Church. All the embroideries of the burial service of the ancient faith were lavishly displayed, to the great consternation of the public, and, as was said at the time, "to the scandal of true religion." Even the revived Episcopate was shocked, and promptly reported the matter to James in England, who, writing from Whitehall on 24th February, 1607, "concerning the mode of dealing with noblemen suspected in their religion," thus instructed the Privy Council :

" And herewith we are specialie to recommend unto you that exact tryall be taikin of these two verie heynous offencies committed at the two severall buryallis and funerallis of the Lord Ogilvy and the Laird of Geicht, quharin thair wes sum superstitious ceremonies and rittes used as gif the professioun of papistrie had been specialie licensed and tolerated; and upon the knowledge of the authourie of those insolencies, our pleasour and will is that ye do presentlie commit thame."

## JAMES, SIXTH LORD OGILVY OF AIRLIE

JAMES, sixth Lord Ogilvy of Airlie, was a different type of man from his father. He neither had his mental calibre nor was he so richly endowed with the adornments of Nature as his parent. He neither had his exalted chivalry nor his adventurous outlook on the problems of life. But this is by no means an exceptional experience in family history. Perhaps it may even be said to conform to the common rule; for it is with families as with the trade of a country, or with any of the world's great movements—these cannot always be maintained at the same high level, and a time of great activity is usually followed by a period of depression, when conditions are restricted. Even Nature rejects the principle of uniformity and rejoices in diversity as its sacred law. As the stars are not all of the same magnitude and brilliancy, one star differing from another star in glory, so it is in the generations of families. Greatness appears at intervals, while average talent may be the rule. The Ogilvy family is in no way an exception to the general experience of the human lot. If, then, it should be felt in our intercourse with the present Baron that, compared to the late Lord Ogilvy, a descent has to be made from that high altitude to which he invited our attention and in a high degree excited our interest, it is to be remembered, apart altogether from the moral attributes of the two men, that the father was in the centre of great national movements of absorbing importance, civil and religious, and, having the opportunity, had the temperament to attain the heights of dutiful conduct; whereas the son had neither the talent nor the taste for adventuring the field of high politics. His interests were parochial rather than national, and to the clan rather than the State he devoted such energy as he possessed.

Born about 1560, Lord Ogilvy would be nearly forty-six years of age when he succeeded to the Airlie estates and to the title. Of his education nothing is known beyond the bare mention of the fact, in an allusion to one of the youthful exploits of the brothers, that on the occasion they were accompanied by "James Ogilvy, pedagogue to the Master of Ogilvy." Being "the eldest sonne and aire," by the provision of the Statute it was compulsory that he "be brocht up and instructed in the fear of God and gude manneris." While it would depend on his taste and capacity for learning, the impetus given to the desire for education by the Reformers would in all likelihood secure for him a more careful tuition than hitherto in "the Grammar and Latin tongue," and especially in a knowledge of the Scriptures, to which great importance was attached, as may be gathered from the preamble to the Statute, which says: "and gif it be utharwise it is tinsail baith of thair bodyis and soulis gif God's word be not ruted in thame." But Lord Ogilvy was not distinguished for learning and erudition, and made little or no use of what he had acquired under the tutorial guidance of his kinsman the "pedagogue." He made the "Grand Tour," which was then in vogue among the youthful nobility of Scotland and considered indispensable to a young nobleman's education; and in this respect he followed his father's example, as his son at a later date is known to have done his; but beyond the bare mention of the late Lord Ogilvy summoning him to return, nothing is known of his foreign travels.

At the age of twenty, on 15th October, 1580, on James VI. assuming the authority of government, Lord Ogilvy was one of twenty-four persons appointed by His Majesty as "Ordinar Gentlemen of his Hieness' Chalmer." The qualifications for this honourable office at Court were: "being Baronis or the sonnys or bruthirs of noblemen and Baronis" who were in the enjoyment of an independent fortune, "having the moyen to leif on thair owen," and whose loyalty to the Sovereign was fully accredited, "being known to have been affectionat to his Hieness sen his birth." The condition attached

to the position was that the holders of the office were obliged to

“acknowledge and profess the trew and christian religion publictlie preacht, and be the law establishit within the realme; and that they communicat at the Lordis Table at sic tyme as the samyn is celebrat in his Majestie’s house, thay being present; or utherwise quhair they sall happin to be at ye tyme.”

The duty of the “ordinar Gentlemen of his Hieness’s Chalmer” was—

“to attend quarterlie upon his Hieness’ service as they sall be commandit and appointit be the said Lord Chalmerlain. Except when the King’s Majestie sall plais to send for thame, at quhilk tyme thay sall be holdin to repair unto his Presence, to tarry for sic reasonabil tyme as the occasione sall craive.”

Lord Ogilvy married, 11th November, 1581, Jean Ruthven, fourth daughter of William, first Earl of Gowrie, the author of the well-known “Raid of Ruthven.” The marriage ceremony took place in the Chapel of Holyrood House “with great solemnity and triumph.” The young couple took up their residence at Airlie Castle, where they lived till the invasion of the Ogilvy lands by the Earl of Argyll in 1591, when the following year, for good reason, they removed to Bolshan Castle. During his residence at Airlie, while the late Lord Ogilvy, deeply involved in affairs of State, spent most of his time in Edinburgh, the Master of Ogilvy, as he then was, contrived, with the co-operation of several of his brothers, to keep things lively along the Braes of Angus, and proved himself to be a terror to the neighbouring lairds, who did not profess the same brand of political sympathies. Indeed, from early youth, he was a disturbing influence, and his depredations were numerous as they were often highly disconcerting. At first the mere ebullition of youthful folly, the frivolous outbursts of a vigorous and unbridled passion, and the reckless exploits of a restless and undisciplined mind, these pranks of youth took in course of time a more serious turn, and developed by force of habit into what was nothing short of crime. So frequent were his excursions and so turbu-

lent their character, that even his father, at his wits' end to control the proclivities of his nature, declined to become caution or give his "assurance" for his good behaviour. It was, of course, an age of license. The country at the time was torn by intestine factions. Party and sectional feeling ran high. On the controversial matters of the day, when people fell athwart the political and religious questions then so vehemently agitated, the worst passions of human nature were called into exercise, and exhibited a barbarity and a total disregard to every amiable sentiment and good neighbourhood. The result was that in the country districts of Scotland, where the feudal spirit had never been effectually restrained, to gratify private resentment or antipathy, there was a constant stream of outrages which kept the country in a perpetual ferment. A careless word might lead to a deadly feud; a mere suspicion might give rise to a conflagration; while every old sore was opened up afresh and allowed to bleed. The conflicting policy of the nation engendered conflict among the people.

By this time there were so many cross-currents in the Ogilvy family that, given the will, there would seldom be lacking the opportunity to keep the fire of passion burning. Besides, there was no immediate chance of active service for such warlike spirits as was that of Lord Ogilvy. The country was at peace with foreign Powers, and with his eye on the throne of England, the King of Scots, notwithstanding many provocations but too shrewd not to see where his own advantage lay, had determined that in his own interests the friendly relations then subsisting should not be disturbed. Thus, deprived of breaking a lance with the old enemy across the Border, there was no help for it but have a bout of fighting with the enemy at the door. This was always available. The enemies were numerous and the *casus belli* in many cases a thing of old standing, while in others justification might easily arise with any morning's dawn.

Early in 1585, for what reason and on what justifiable ground does not appear, but Patrick Wood of Bonnyton

near St. Vigeans had given some cause for serious umbrage against him on the part of Lord Ogilvy, who, to avenge the wrong, or the slight, or the foolish word, which perhaps a bird of the air had carried, took upon him to administer punishment in the orthodox fashion of the Clan. Issuing from Bolshan Castle under cloud of night, with a goodly number of his followers in full war-paint, armed and thoroughly equipped with the organs of destruction, he made a raid on the lands of Bonnyton, harried the farmsteads, and put the tenants to flight; thereafter investing the laird's mansion-house, where the inmates were put to the sword and the house sacked of all that was of value. For this mad exploit Lord Ogilvy had to appear before the King at a meeting of the Privy Council, and failing to justify his conduct, he was ordered to "find caution in the sum of 20,000 merks that Patrick Wood of Bonnyton, his tenants, and servants shall be skaithless of him." Though made sensible of the frown of royal displeasure, it was in anything but a chastened mood that he left the fair city of Edinburgh for the north. With his kilted followers, this punishment would be interpreted as an undue interference with his personal liberty, while he would regard it as an unmerited restraint, and it would be with defiance on his brow that he turned his face to the home-country.

Back to Airlie Castle, which would prove an ideal sanctuary in his present mood of offended dignity, whence to the Tulchan there was a wide stretch of Ogilvy country where "the unshorn mountains raise their voices to the stars," and where the meadows luxuriating in verdant pasture mingle to lowing of the herds with the music of the river—among his own people he could roam at will, the monarch of all he surveyed, and with no one to dispute his challenge.

Yet it was in his own dominion that the next temptation came to him, yielding to which cost himself and brought upon his family long years of retribution. The upper reaches of Glenisla, until a quarter of a century before, had been inhabited by sections of several small clans who held their leases from the impartial superiority

of the Abbey of St. Mary. On acquiring these lands in 1556, the late Lord Ogilvy proceeded to people the Glen with cadets of his own House—a policy which in itself and from his point of view was eminently prudent, but it proved to be a source of much contention and dissatisfaction on the part of those who, to make way for the Ogilvys, were dispossessed of their homesteads where many of them for generations had resided. Resentment was natural. In the nature of things, opposition was to be expected. The Highlander, whose “salmon-like affection” for his native abode has ever been proverbial, in being compelled to go farther afield, would move with a grudge, if not in the hope of some day in the near future returning again. The Master of Ogilvy, as he then was, in no sense of a placable disposition, was not the man to conciliate such feeling in embryo, or to propitiate its expression in word or act. The few leaseholders who, under the reservation for which the spiritual Fathers stipulated at the time of sale, were allowed to remain, were on occasion a little obstreperous, and not a little refractory under what they considered the fixity of their tenure, which gave to their occupancy the colour of independence. As they owned allegiance to the Campbells, they consequently resented the domination of the Ogilvys, and in course of time, their relations being strained, open warfare was inevitable. But while Lord Ogilvy thus initiated a state of feeling in Glenisla which made it possible that the Campbells might dispute the policy that was in operation, he made the interference of the Earl of Argyll absolutely necessary by depredations in another quarter.

The Abbot of the Abbey of Coupar at the time of the Reformation was Donald Campbell, whose abbatial government had extended over five and thirty years. Like most of the Church dignitaries of the period, under a recognised celibacy, he had lived joyfully with the wife of his bosom, and being a man of virtue had a considerable progeny. Being wise as he was virtuous, when he apprehended the proximity of the new order of things, he began to set his house in order by making, on the

model of the Scriptures, "friends with the mammon of unrighteousness." To each of his stalwart and dutiful sons he gave an estate, carved out of the lands belonging to the Abbey; and thus it came to pass at this particular juncture that quite a colony of Campbells were established at Balgersho, Arthurstone, Keithock, Denhead, Croonan, and Muirton, all in the neighbourhood of Coupar-Angus.

Twelve miles distant from Airlie Castle, through a comparatively level country, when the Earl of Argyll began to ask questions about the administration of the Ogilvy property in Glenisla, to express his suspicion of the propriety of the treatment to which some of his friends had been subjected, and it may be to suggest amendment, Lord Ogilvy, enraged by this outside interference, took upon him to let "MacCalim Mor" feel the weight of his anger, little recking the judgment so great an adversary might shower upon his own head. Summoning his forces, he set out from Airlie Castle early in the spring of 1591, accompanied by his younger brother, Sir John Ogilvy of Craig, and without warning made an indiscriminate attack on the Campbells in the vicinity of Coupar-Angus. Besides destruction to property, a deadly struggle ensued, a real stand-up clan fight of the period with no quarter, in which many of the principals on the Campbell side bit the dust.

While in the autumn, in retaliation for this raid on the members of his House, the Earl of Argyll and his five hundred "broken hieland men" were ravaging the Ogilvy lands in Glenisla to the tune of exacting penalties a hundredfold, Lord Ogilvy, in response to a summons, compeared before the King at a meeting of the Privy Council in Edinburgh, on 6th September, 1591, when he was ordered to find caution in the sum of £10,000, for which David, Earl of Crawford, gave his bond,

"that the Master of Ogilvy and Sir John Ogilvy of Craig shall answer before the King's Council upon 1st October next to a complaint against them by the wives, bairns, and remnant kin of the late Robert Campbell in Mylnhorn, William Campbell in Soutarhouse, Thomas Campbell portioner in Keithick;

and John Campbell in Muirtown, touching the slaughter of the said umquhile personis and otheris Crymes Contentit in tha letters direct thairanent."

Three years later, when the King of Scots took upon him to declare against the Catholic lords, Lord Ogilvy was again the victim of royal displeasure. Whether on the ground of sympathising with his views on religion, or merely on the strength of brotherly affection, he stood by his brother, Sir John Ogilvy of Craig, when he fell into trouble in the days of the persecution of Catholics. On 20th February, 1594, "for failing to appear in answer to the charge of treasonable conduct in resetting John Ogilvy of Craig and other declared traitors," he was "denounced rebel and put to the horne." For more than a year, by secluding himself on the hills, he evaded capture, but at length he was taken prisoner, and with his brother was committed to Edinburgh Castle. There he was kept in close confinement for the space of eighteen months, when he was released on condition that he should not in future identify himself with his brother's opinions.

Not many months were to pass, however, before he should renew his acquaintance with the Mound of Edinburgh. The offence which brought him to a second term of imprisonment was one the nature of which shows the spirit of the time, as it does the attitude of the nobility to matters of common law. It was an age when, as Goldsmith wrote,

"Laws grind the poor, and rich men rule the law."

Like the nobility of Scotland generally, who for centuries had been a law unto themselves, Lord Ogilvy showed scant courtesy on this occasion to an order of His Majesty in Council, and in consequence learned to his cost the truth of the proverb, "He that passeth by, and meddleth with strife belonging not to him, is like one that taketh a dog by the ears." It was the time of harvest, when the teind sheaves that fell to the Royal Bounty were gathered in the Crown lands of Strathardle and Glenshee, which bordered with the Ogilvy lands of

Forther in Glenisla. James VI., mindful of his portion in the bountiful provision of the Almighty, had issued instructions and had authorised one of the name of Andrew Murray—a cadet of the faithful House of Atholl, with which the Ogilvys were then at feud—to gather and secure “under thack and rape” the proportion of the crop that fell to be housed in the Royal Granary. The said Andrew had used all diligence in having His Majesty’s tenth reaped, but he awoke one fine morning to find, much to his surprise, that Lord Ogilvy and a number of his followers had swept down in the night, when the moon was at the full, and had “led and stakit the same teind sheaves in sic neutral and indifferent places contrary to his Majestie’s commands.” It was a grave offence of spoliation, amounting almost to *lèse majesté*. The King took a serious view of the case, and summoned Lord Ogilvy to compear before him in Council, when, after trial, the following judgment was recorded :

“On 11th October, 1597, the Master of Ogilvy, for disobeying his Majestie’s order in the matter of the teind sheaves of Strathardle and Glenshee: that, whereas his Majestie for the sake of the peace and quietness of the country had authorised Andrew Murray to lead the teind sheaves, the Master of Ogilvy and others led and stakit the same in sic neutral and indifferent places contrary to his Majestie’s command, wherefore, the Master of Ogilvy was committed to ward in Edinburgh Castle therein to remain till relieved by his Majestie.”

By this time it will be gathered that Lord Ogilvy’s love of adventure had passed the acute stage when it was the mere ebullition of youthful and thoughtless folly, and had become chronic when it was the outcome of the force of habit—the predatory passion of a restless and wayward nature. Though by no means forgetful that

“ ’Tis a meaner part of sense  
To find a fault than taste an excellence,”

the truth must yet be told that, notwithstanding his romantic and chivalrous disposition, his life was to a large extent “a wilderness of faults and follies.” He

had, no doubt, his excellent qualities; there was as little doubt he had his redeeming features; but these, unfortunately, were the mere interludes of his career and not the tenor of it. After another twelve months in prison, when he had reached the age of thirty-eight—a time of life when sober reflection begins to dawn upon even an adventurous spirit like his, and caution instead of rashness becomes the watchword—Lord Ogilvy, far from reforming his plan, plunged still deeper in the slough of fendal hatred, and was the chief instrument in reviving a conflict of antagonistic forces which many people thought to be extinct, but had only slumbered. In this resurrected feud between the Ogilvys and the Lindsays, he had the active co-operation of most of his brothers. It began by some personal animosity between Lord Ogilvy and Alexander Lindsay, Lord Spynie. “It is a piece of logic which will hardly pass on the world, that because one man has a sore nose all the town should put plaster upon theirs.” Had the witty Dean of St. Patrick only known the temper of the Ogilvys, he would have found that the community of interest was so strong that the offence of one became the grievance of all, and instead of being a *reductio ad absurdum*, it was a case of *argumentum ad hominem*.

During the winter of 1599-1600 there was great commotion in that part of Angus which Sir Walter Scott has made enchanted ground in the best of all his matchless novels, “The Antiquary,” and which one hundred and fifty years before had been the scene of “the Battle of Arbroath,” the most desperate of all clan feuds which history has recorded. The Ogilvys and the Lindsays, who for three hundred years had been bitter enemies, had so far composed their differences that for more than half a century they had lived in friendly intercourse to such an extent that the Earl of Crawford had befriended Lord Ogilvy only eight years before the above date by giving his bond of caution for £10,000 for his good behaviour. But at that time the head of the House of the Lindsays could no more control the doings of his family than the Chief of the Ogilvys could keep his sons in subjection.

The Earl's brother, Alexander, to whom had been given the dominical lands of Kinblethmont, had recently enjoyed the high privilege of accompanying the King of Scots to Denmark on the occasion of his marriage to the Princess Anne, and in honour of the event had been promoted to the Peerage in 1592, with the title of Lord Spynie. Shortly after this token of the royal favour he married Jean Lyon, daughter of John, seventh Lord Glamis, and widow of the "Guid Archibald," Earl of Angus. Kinblethmont, where the newly-married couple took up their residence, was within easy reach of Farnell Castle, while Bolshan Castle was in near neighbourhood to it. So long as amicable relations subsisted between the two families, this proximity was conducive to healthy intercourse and mutual fellowship; but when in course of time differences supervened on the thorny questions of the period, both political and religious, which cut so sharply athwart their respective interests and attachments, their neighbourhood proved to be a misfortune instead of an advantage.

What gave occasion to this "conflict and combat" can only be a matter of conjecture, as the points open to dispute in civil and domestic affairs were manifold as they were inflammable, while on either side the predisposition to take offence on the slightest occasion was an ever-present factor in the situation. The several parties, when the dispute was at its height, happened to meet in the street at Arbroath, and being fully armed, an immediate battle of great ferocity ensued. Lord Ogilvy was accompanied by his brothers and a numerous train of his followers, while Lord Spynie had the companionship in arms of Sir John Lindsay of Ballinsho, William Stewart (brother to the Earl of Atholl), and a large following of the Lindsay fraternity. The occasion was reminiscent of the great Battle of Arbroath of January, 1446, the memory of which would be indelibly stamped on the minds of the present contestants. The street in which they met was a narrow lane, or vennel, which left the opposing forces no alternative but to fight or flee. The matter, in the spirit of the age and according to the tradi-

tion of the two clans, was unthinkable; and instantly, as they came within sight of each other, swords were drawn and they were speedily engaged in a hand-to-hand struggle. It was a fierce and determined exhibition of high passion and family hatred, ruthless, wild, and barbarous in the extreme; as Ogilvy sought out Lindsay and Lindsay Ogilvy, in their fell purpose of slaughter, in their debauch of blood. The principals, according to the laws and custom of the period, engaged each other, when, after a long and fierce contest, Lord Spynie fell, as it was thought, mortally wounded. The end came by what remained of the Lindsays taking flight, leaving the street littered with the dead, the wounded, and the dying.

A report of this outrage against law and order was speedily submitted to the King of Scots by the local Magistrates, when His Majesty, recognising the gravity of the offence, at once summoned a meeting of the Privy Council, the minute of which, dated 7th March, 1600, is to the following effect :

“The King and his council understanding that there is ane grite trouble laillie fallen oute betwixt James, Master of Ogilvy, John Ogilvy of Craig, David Ogilvy, and George Ogilvy, all brothers, with their adherents on the one pairt, and Alexander, Lord of Spynie, Sir John Lindsay of Ballinsho, William Stewart, brother to the Earl of Atholl, and their adherents on the other pairt; quhairupon forder inconvenients will not fail to ensue to the brek of the peace and quiet estate of the countrie and without tymous remeid be provydit; quhairfor there be order to charge the above to remain in ward in the following houses till freed or released under pain of rebellion: the said Ogilvys to confine themselves within the Castle of Bolshan, and the Lindsays within the house of Dun. And further: the Master of Ogilvy to find caution for good conduct, by 1st January, 1601, in the sum of £10,000: David Ogilvy in the sum of 5,000 merks, and George Ogilvy in the sum of 1,000 merks, that they will not take pairt with any of the said parties, nor meddle directly or indirectly in the feud standing betwixt them.”

As evidence of the widespread interest which this battle of the two clans excited throughout the country, as for the additional information which they provide, may be

quoted the following letters written by George Nicolson to Sir Robert Cecil. The first is dated 9th March, 1600 :

“ Johnston is quietly here, and Herries and Drumlanrig openly by the King’s command, who has got them to subscribe submission for all matters, the King to be Umpire, save the Lord Maxwell’s death : but as one agrees, another disagrees, for this week the Master of Ogilvy and my Lord of Spynay met and fought and are far entered into blood, two of a side being slain, the Lord of Spynay and the Master of Ogilvy both hurt, and herewith the county of Angus disquieted. The King has sent his officers-at-arms to charge the parties to keep their own houses till he may take order in the matter ; but it will not agree without more blood among them.”

The second letter is dated a week later—16th March, 1600 :

“ Here is word come that my Lord of Spynay is dead or in danger of death ; having taken the fever by the hurts given him at the fight between him and the Master of Ogilvy.”

Lord Spynie did not succumb to his wounds, as Sir George Nicolson had heard or feared. The fever abated, and in the course of a few months he made a good recovery. There was, however, great danger, as he informed Sir Robert Cecil, that the parties “ will not agree without more blood among them ” ; and it is evident this view was taken of the posture of affairs by His Majesty’s Privy Council. On 23rd March, 1600, it is recorded :

“ The king’s Majesty and Lords of Secret Council, having advisedlie considerit upon the best means to settle the present troubles within the Countrey of Angus, through occasion of the late unhappie accidents and conflict quhilk happynnit and fell oute betwixt Alexander, Lord Spynie and James, Master of Ogilvy, thair freindis and Complicis, finds meit expedient, according to Acts of Estates of Parliament made anent the feudis, that mutual suirteis and caution be found be the specialis of the kin and friends on aither side for the indemnitie of innocent men of the wer on the field of said conflict and this suirtie to stand for all tyme coming. . . . Quhairfor, the Master of Ogilvy shall go into ward at Airlie Castle and nowise remove thairfra quhilk he be lauchfullie freed, and to keep the said ward under pain of rebellion.”

At Airlie Castle Lord Ogilvy would be out of the immediate zone of danger, but, unless he confined himself strictly within the bounds of his ward, there was still the risk of conflict with the Lindsays, as members of this family lived in near neighbourhood to the old home of the Ogilvys; and with feeling running so strong, there was no saying what a chance meeting might not bring about. Lord Ogilvy was not the least subdued by the restraints that were imposed on him, and by the heavy caution of £10,000, for which he had yet to find a bond. He was far from being in a penitent mood, and it was by no means in the spirit of humble submission that he obeyed His Majesty's summons to compare at a meeting of the Privy Council, on 10th June, 1600, "to answer anent the conflict and combat which fell oute betwixt him and Lord Spynie." Contrary to the provisions of the Act of Parliament on the hearing of cases by the King in Council, Lord Ogilvy appeared at the meeting surrounded by a great force of armed men with the purpose of overawing or frustrating the decisions of justice. He was at once commanded to comply with the terms of the Statute, and, refusing to obey, "was proclaimed at the Market Cross of Edinburgh a rebel, while the lieges accompanying him were forbidden under pain of incurring the crime of making Convocation."

The King of Scots, it is well known, had a whimsical fondness for playing the part of Mediator, and nothing was so gratifying to his vanity as the thought of being instrumental in the reconciliation of offended dignity. To have two warring spirits before him, who in the height of passion refused to answer each other or to come together in judgment, and be the "daysman" who should lay his hand upon them both, was a posture which he dearly loved. It was indeed one of the cherished ambitions of his life to bring the obstinate and obstreperous nobility, who all over his dominions had for generations cultivated estrangement, to something bordering on a state of friendship; and it was seldom that he had not on hand some such work of atonement, since he found, as he ruefully said, "as ae door steiks anither opens."

As Lord Ogilvy showed no symptoms of being subdued by the rigours of the law, which, indeed, he had openly defied, James, adopting the way of least resistance, sought to bring the two offending nobles together in judgment, and, if possible, to reconcile them. He called upon them and succeeded in persuading them to intermit a note of hand that during a prescribed period they should keep apart and avoid any chance of meeting. This armistice was due to expire on 1st September, 1600, and as it was a matter of public notoriety that the feeling existing between the Ogilvys and the Lindsays had in no measure abated its rancour, His Majesty, on 11th August, took steps either to prolong the truce or to effect a reconciliation :

“The King and the Lords of Secret Council, understanding that the assurance lately passed betwixt Lord Spynie and the Master of Ogilvy are now almost expired, although the variance and contraversion betwixt thame yet remains unreconciled, ordains letters to be directed, the one to the other, within 6 hours after this charge is served upon thame, such form of new assurances as shall be prescribed to thame.”

What influence was brought to bear on the recalcitrant lords has not transpired, but evidently strenuous efforts were made on the part of their several friends to break down the barriers of inflamed passions that separated them, and to such a purpose that by the month of November Lord Ogilvy and Lord Spynie signed an agreement to the effect that such matters as were outstanding between them should be submitted to His Majesty as arbitrator. For just such a resolution of the difficulty James had been etting; it was his favourite rôle, and he embraced the proposition with great alacrity and goodwill. Like a wise Judge, he heard both parties to the dispute, and in the spirit of a genuine impartiality made avizandum of the case. After some weeks of cogitation, by 31st January, 1601, he pronounced “decree arbitral” :

“His Majesty, as Amicabill Compositour chosen by the parties, with the advice of such council as, with the consent of

both the said parties, he had selected in this matter, pronounces and declares, as to the criminal cause of the combat and conflict betwixt both parties when the Lord Spynie was hurt and slaughter committed on both sides, the same proceeded only from 'ane unhappie accident and suddentie, and not upon forethocht provision on set purpose in respect of the narrowness and straitness of the way be the quhilk the said Lord Spynie and his companie behuiffit to pass. Yet, seeing that the Master of Ogilvy and his companie were furnisheit with pistols, contrary to the law, and that they once past fra the place of the Leys, and perceiving Lord Spynie and his companie upon the fields, thay cast thair cloaks fra them and returnit back again to the said place, so that if any provocation had been made the same came from the Master of Ogilvy and his followers: and the King declares that Lord Spynie and his companie did nothing in that matter but what might have happened to any natural man in the just and lawful defence of his lyffe: and, therefore, desarns the said Master of Ogilvy and his brothers to pay to the Treasurer the sum of £5,000 for having and using the said unlawful armour and for the slauchter committed by their side the tyme of the said conflicte.

"The King's Majestie decerns both parties to remit and forgive utheris all slauchter and bluid quhilk has been committit betwixt thame, togedder with all rancour, hatred, and malice, and to keep in future guid friendship and neighbourhood as becomes kinsmen and friends; and to chope hands and to drink togedder at such tyme and in such manner as sall be appointit thame."

The advice "to chope hands" and "to drink togedder" was good, as was the purpose to serve which it was intended, provided both parties to the dispute were of a mind to bury the past. The King of Scots was a great believer in conviviality being conducive to good-fellowship. Enamoured of the Scripture phrase that wine "maketh glad the heart of man," he overlooked the broad fact that men are so differently constituted and are of such diverse temperaments that such a stimulant, as has often been witnessed, might have quite the opposite effect in different men; and that *in vino veritas*, though the dictum of profane literature, may be just as sound in principle as the other. Yet the purpose in view—to forgive and forget—was laudable as it was well intended;

but had James been better acquainted with the vagaries of human nature, he might have known that

“ Forgiveness to the injured does belong,  
But they ne’er pardon who have done the wrong.”

Lord Ogilvy, against whom on a specified transgression of the law the “decree arbitral” was given to the tune of a penalty of £5,000, was in no mood to receive Lord Spynie in a friendly embrace. He returned to Airlie Castle in a sulky mood, and, like most of the unsuccessful litigants, was dissatisfied with the judgment of the “Amicabil Compositour.” Yet there was no help for it but to grin and bear it with as much patience and fortitude as he could command. With the former excellent virtue he was not richly endowed. On the contrary, he was rash, impulsive, and prone to strife. Far from forgiving an injury, with him, as in the spirit of the age, this could only be expiated by a resort to arms. The only solution of trouble was its punishment. And so it was “with a green and yellow melancholy” that, instead of smiling at his discomfiture, he brooded over it with savage thoughts and hoped for the day when he should redeem his honour.

It was known to James VI. that Lord Ogilvy was in this temper of mind, and fearing that it might lead to a still more embittered feudal conflict, he adopted measures of a conciliatory character, if perchance he might be able to forestall further mischief. In a letter dated 8th March, 1602, George Nicolson wrote to Sir Robert Cecil :

“The King of Scots will presently seek the reconciliation of the Lindsays and Ogilvys.”

The intention was good but the effort was fruitless. How far and in what direction and spirit the royal intervention proceeded is not known ; but that it failed to achieve its purpose will be abundantly proved by what has now to be related of the further outbreak of hostilities between the two families.

For more than two years there had been odd skirmishes

when an Ogilvy and a Lindsay happened to meet, either along the Braes of Angus or in the streets of Arbroath. This intermittent flame of passion showed, as the straw shows how the wind is blowing, that the antagonism of the two clans was not extinct but only smouldering. It was well enough known in the countryside that their feudal hatred would not be assuaged, nor would the rancour of their feelings be abated, "without more blood among them." Since March, 1600, with the exception of the two occasions when he was summoned to compare at meetings of the King in Council anent "the unhappie accident and conflict," Lord Ogilvy had kept his ward at Airlie Castle, as he was bound to do "under pain of rebellion." What the immediate cause may have been which induced him to violate the royal injunction does not appear, but something of an incriminating nature must have happened to force him to break through the barrier of his confinement, and that he felt constrained to do so boded no good. He left the old Fortalice of Airlie, which nestles so snugly above the meeting of the rivers, and rode with a few personal attendants east to Bolshan Castle, the storm-centre of the Ogilvys and the Lindsays, where he was joined by his brothers—Sir John Ogilvy of Craig, David Ogilvy of Pitmuies, George Ogilvy of Friock, and Francis Ogilvy of Newgrange. With the usual train of followers the gathering would not be short of fifty, but as there was business on hand it might reach a hundred to avoid the risk of surprise. From the nature of the armaments an expedition of a serious character was evidently in view, as in addition to their swords the men were equipped with the forbidden pistol, while field-pieces in the shape of embryonic artillery were drawn up on the lawn. On the night of 26th November, 1603, when darkness had fallen, and before "the full-orb'd moon with her nocturnal ray" had come forth to penetrate, if she could, the dense fog that overspread the landscape, Lord Ogilvy, at the head of this little army, set out for Kinblethmont House, the residence of Lord Spynie, where, it had been reported, he would be found at home. And so he would, an hour before the happy warriors lined

up for the march in front of Bolshan Castle; but if some people's servants have tongues, the servants of other people may chance to have ears that are quick to hear, and being fleet of foot, can take the road as the crow flies. However, ignorant that their quarry had escaped them, and not yet chagrined to know that at the moment when they were leading out their horses for their field-pieces, Lord and Lady Spynie were mounting theirs, and with their children in charge of a couple of grooms were making at a fast trot for Brechin Castle, Lord Ogilvy and his troops went bravely forth into the night with the grim determination to have one more bout of revenge. Avoiding the town of Arbroath, whose citizens were well disposed to the family of Lord Spynie, they took the less frequented highroad with the intention of making a sudden descent upon the house and surrounding it.

A timely warning had enabled the servants at Kinblethmont to put the place in what they considered a state of defence. The high walls were regarded as providing sufficient protection, while the "principall yett" was doubly secured by strong iron supports on the inside. But the attacking party were prepared for every obstacle as they were for every emergency, and, according to the account of the foray submitted to the King of Scots, "be a maist detestabil and unlauchful ingyne of war callit the pittart"—a primitive but effective battering-ram—made short work of the defensive measures. Coming, it is said, "by way of hamesuckin," they "not only brocht with thame the said detestabil ingyne of war but also fielding-pieces for besieging the said house if the pittart should fail." The Ogilvys had thus carefully laid their plans to make absolutely certain of effecting their purpose, and they went about the work with a deliberation that was worthy of a better cause.

"Having affixed the said pittart to ye principall yett of the said house of Kinblethmont, they forcibly blew up the same or ever any of the persons being within the house knew of their being there: and immediately on the blowing up of the yett, they shott and discharged their fielding pieces at the windows on sett purpose of slaying such persons as on the

noise of the blowing up should come to the windows to understand what the noise meant."

Having thus demolished the first line of defence, the Ogilvys broke open the main doorway and "rushed the house with levelled pistols and drawn swords in their hands," and, it is alleged, "searched the house for Lord Spynie and his wife to murder them," "assaulting the servants and threatening them to torture if they did not tell the place of concealment." Enraged that their quarry had escaped them, they sacked Kinblethmont of all its plenishing, and carried away all the gold and silver—indeed, appropriated everything of value.

When, notwithstanding all his efforts to bridge the dispute between the Ogilvys and the Lindsays, the report of this night attack was presented to James, his wrath was fierce, and speedily summoning a meeting of the Privy Council, Lord Ogilvy was denounced "a person perjured and defamed," and inasmuch as "he had violated his assurances," he had thereby "forfeited his Bond of Caution," which, it may be remembered, was for the sum of £10,000.

By Lord Ogilvy's marriage with Lady Jean Ruthven there was a family of four sons and three daughters. With the exception of the eldest son, James, who inherited the fighting proclivities of his father and whose great career in the Civil War will sustain the interest of the reader for a considerable time, none of the others are in any way noteworthy. Indeed, of most of them little or nothing is known.

1. James, Master of Ogilvy, who was the first Earl of Airlie.

2. William, who in a deed of 4th August, 1637, is designated "brother to Lord Ogilvy," and by some writers is thought to be the William Ogilvy of Glenmoy who was killed by Alexander Donald and others with a "caber or staff when comeing ryding to his awin hous upon ane seck off meill." The trial of the murderers took place at Forfar, according to the Airlie papers, on 25th July, 1658, when Sir David Ogilvy, third son of the

Earl of Airlie, appeared as one of the nearest of kin for their interest. William Ogilvy died unmarried, but left a natural son, James Ogilvy.

3. John, who is designated of Newbigging and "in Invergowrie." He married Agnes Napier, daughter of Sir Archibald Napier of Edinbellie and Merchiston, a niece of his stepmother, and widow of Harrie Balfour of Logie. He died in Glenisla on 22nd November, 1625, leaving three daughters.

4. Archibald, of whom all that is known is that he was a pupil in 1613.

5. Jean, described in a decret dated February, 1615, as "eldest laugfull dochtor."

6. Margaret.

7. Elizabeth, who was married in 1620 to George Gordon of Gight.

Lady Ogilvy died on 6th February, 1611, and in 1613 Lord Ogilvy married, as his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Archibald Napier of Edinbellie and Merchiston. Of this marriage there was a son :

8. James, who had a talent for mechanics, and was of the opinion that he had discovered "ane invention and secret for preserving ships from sinking." In 1662, when his nephew, Lord Ogilvy, was much at Court with Charles II., being Captain of the Guard, a relative wrote to him informing him of the invention, and begged that he might "prosper this business" with the King. Apparently he had done so, as on 23rd November, 1667, at Potento, now known as Cardean, a contract was signed by "Captain James Ogilvy, Uncle to the (second) Earl of Airlie and John Ogilvy, Younger, Fiar of Peill," for the manufacture and sale of the said invention, which had been patented and included in the Register of Deeds.

From being adjudged "a person perjured and defamed," to be thought worthy of being elected to the honorary office of Chief Porter of the Abbey of St. Mary was a step in the right direction and on the paths of peace. Lord Ogilvy, on the death of his father in 1606,

not only entered into his inheritance of the property and the peerage, but in addition he took over the responsible administrative function of the three baileries of Aberbrothock, Brechin, and Coupar-Angus. These positions were heritable, and the first-named had been in the Airlie family ever since the appointment of Sir Walter Ogilvy in 1422. The office of Chief Porter had been held by an Ogilvy, a cadet of the House of Airlie, in the person of Robert Ogilvy of Bellaty in Glenisla, by whom it was resigned in favour of William Ogilvy of Easter Keillor. On 28th June, 1609, Archibald, son of William Ogilvy, resigned the office and its fruits in favour of Lord Ogilvy, his heirs male and assignees. Unlike the office of Bailie, whose functions were of a juridical character, that of the Porter, like the Cellarer, appertained to the domestic affairs of the Monastery, and was concerned chiefly in the distribution of alms. The perquisites were, besides a mansion-house at Keithock, "bread and drink from the Abbot's cellar and kitchen, in quality and measure equal to what any Monk receives in a day," or a commuted payment of 55 merks: "six acres of land free of teind sheaves: pasture for seven cows and their followers, and in the same place for two horses;" and for the support of a substitute or deputy a chamber at the "uter yett callit the portar luge, with a stipend of 55 merks for keping and awaiting on the said yett." And a reversion of £400 Scots, payable on forty days' warning at the Parish Kirk of Bendochy.

Lord Ogilvy continued to live at Airlie Castle, out of the danger zone of proximity to the Lindsays, ever since that costly night attack on Kinblethmont; but on the marriage of his eldest son, the Master of Ogilvy, he removed to Bolshan Castle, which was then regarded, as it has been described, "the Lord Ogilvy's special residence." There he resided for the next seven years, unmolested by the ancestral foes of his House, and on his own part, by a great effort of self-control, lived in quietness and good neighbourhood on the border of the lands of the Lindsays. It was at Bolshan Castle where Jean Ruthven died, and where two years later he took home his second bride,

Elizabeth Napier, much to the annoyance of his eldest son. It was where, too, after a life of storm and tempest, within sound of the North Sea breakers, which, lashed into fury by the equinoctial gales, dash themselves upon the rocks with an angry roar, in the fall of 1617, at the age of fifty-seven, he died, and was gathered to his fathers in the "Isle" of the Kirk of Kynnell.

## JAMES, FIRST EARL OF AIRLIE

At a time of great commotion in the hearts of the Scottish people, and especially of that section of the nobility to which the Ogilvys belonged, who were staunchly loyal as they were affectionately devoted to Mary Stewart, Queen of Scots, James, Master of Ogilvy, first saw the light, being born at Airlie Castle some time in the autumn of the year 1586. The Marian lords, of which party his grandfather was a devoted member and his father a bold adherent, were deeply moved when the intelligence reached the country that Mary had been put on her trial at Fotheringhay Castle on the charge of high treason, and that it could have but one end—the forfeiture of her life. This not only caused dismay in the homes of the loyalists, but gave rise to deep resentment and a profound feeling of intense rancour against the English authorities, and to a grave sense of disappointment at the supine attitude of the Scottish Court. Thus, agitated by the apprehension that a crime was about to be committed, to their minds as despicable as it was reprehensible, the thought of which they could only contemplate with execration and horror, the loyal followers of the Queen of Scots, and prominent among them the House of Airlie, were roused to the utmost tension by the insult offered to the blood of their monarchs, and demanded by incisive and persistent speech that vigorous efforts should be employed in order to prevent if possible, or failing this to revenge, the death of their Queen. Had the decision rested with the Marian lords, Scotland would instantly on receipt of the news have joined the Catholic party in England who were loyal to Mary, and all the more readily as it had become known that the King of Spain was assembling his Navy—the Invincible Armada—for an attack upon the English; but as no movement of a military character was proposed.





JAMES, FIRST EARL OF AIRLIE.

there was great searching of heart among the loyalists at the incredible want of spirit in a crisis that reflected on the nation's honour; and in no place did the feeling run so strong or the emotion so deep as at Airlie Castle, where a resort to arms was recognised as the only means of preventing the unwarranted judgment. It was while this crisis was at its height, in an outburst of loyal devotion to their rightful Queen, that the Master of Ogilvy was born; and it will be found that the circumstances attendant on his birth run through the whole web of his public career. Into an atmosphere of dutiful loyalty to the family ideal he made his entrance, and opened his eyes to the light amid a scene of great emotion and fidelity to honour.

His mother came of a virile race of the powerful House of Ruthven, which played a notable part in Scottish history. Her grandfather, Lord Ruthven, was notorious as one of the assassins of Riccio and the enemy of Mary. Her father, the first Earl of Gowrie, a man of imperturbable courage and resource, had been the main author of the "Raid of Ruthven," which eventually brought his head to the block, and at whose trial one of the assizers who supported the verdict of execution was James, fifth Lord Ogilvy, his daughter's father-in-law. Moreover, her brother, the second Earl of Gowrie, who possessed all the attributes of a hero of romance, a man of stately presence and manner, a scholar of repute but addicted to the family failing for intrigue, was the author of what is known as the Gowrie Conspiracy—an attempt, it was alleged, against the life of James, which, however, at the time was "not believed by many," and to this day is one of the mysteries of Scottish history. The Earl and his brother were slain, and by Act of Parliament the name of Ruthven was abolished, the family arms cancelled, and their lands confiscated to the Crown. His father's history with his great passion for adventure has been recorded, and will be left to speak for itself. It will be seen, however, that from both parents the Master of Ogilvy inherited in his blood all the romantic qualities of his race, and that love of enterprise and inflexibility of

purpose, and withal that intense loyalty to his ideal which characterised his life.

At an early age he was placed under a tutor at Airlie Castle—Mr. John Wardlaw, a distinguished student of St. Andrews, who was described as “a young man, a scholar—a gentleman of fair and honest condition.” What progress the Master of Ogilvy made in the classics and mathematics has not been put on record. He did not, however, proceed to the University to enlarge the scope of his knowledge; but nearing the completion of his fifteenth year, accompanied by his tutor, he went on a course of foreign travel, no doubt pursuing his studies by the way. On 19th August, 1601, James Hudson, a courier to the Court of England, in whose charge the Master of Ogilvy and John Wardlaw travelled to London on their road to France, wrote to Sir Robert Cecil :

“These gentlemen who come from Scotland are bound for France to the Duke of Lennox, the King’s Ambassador. Master Oglebye of a good house and pretty living and Mr. John Wardlaw. They pray for Cecil’s passport.”

Thus early in life, by the authority of his grandfather, who had perceived the excellent qualities of which he gave promise, was the Master of Ogilvy removed from the boisterous environment of his father and uncles, whose predatory conduct Lord Ogilvy so much deplored but was powerless to prohibit. For fully four years he remained abroad in France, acquiring a knowledge of the language and the laws of the Constitution; attending the military school for instruction in the art of war, and being specially tutored by one of the expert fencing-masters of Paris, then the recognised authorities in Europe for the deft handling of the sword and rapier. He afterwards crossed to Sweden, where a relation, Captain James Ogilvy, had a commission in the Swedish Army, and where he spent the most part of a year in drill, especially in the cavalry arm of the service, which he had selected as most agreeable to his taste. With a visit to Switzerland and Italy his travels terminated. When he returned to Scotland in the autumn of 1605, he was a tall, well-

built youth of stately carriage, of muscular activity, of open, manly countenance; broad-minded and chivalrous; while he combined the stateliness of the Ruthvens with the good-hearted, generous disposition of the Ogilvys.

James VI., among his many other weaknesses, was an inveterate gossip, and had ever a ready ear for "idle claik." Little occurred or was likely to occur in the families of the nobility that did not reach him, and he prided himself in being conversant with "the clash of the country." After his removal to England this love of news did not in the least abate its fervour, and he continued to keep closely in touch with "his native haunts." There was constant coming and going between the two countries now that their Crowns were united, while the Court was never without a fair-sized covey of Scots who thought it their duty as they held it to be their right to be near their Sovereign Lord; and nothing gratified the vanity of James better than to be the first to retail the society news of his northern kingdom to his brother-Scots. Among the many tales recorded of him is that on one occasion he informed the Scottish fraternity that the latest news from "Auld Reekie" was that "Young Ogilvy of Airlie was to marry a dochter of Tam o' The Cowgate." As the event proved, his information was correct. The Master of Ogilvy, at the age of twenty-four, married Isabella Hamilton, second daughter of Thomas, first Earl of Haddington. The marriage contract is dated 22nd November, 1610. She was born on 18th February, 1596, and the marriage took place in 1611 on her attaining her fifteenth birthday. The Earl of Haddington was a distinguished Judge in the reign of James VI., and, as stated by Sir Walter Scott, was "a great lawyer." At the time of the marriage he was a Lord of Session and bore the title of Lord Drumcairn. At a subsequent date he was raised to the Peerage, and assumed the title of Earl of Melrose; but in 1637, on the death of Sir John Ramsay, Viscount Haddington, he, with the approbation of the Crown, selected that of Earl of Haddington. Reputed to be one of the wealthiest peers of his time, his large fortune having been acquired partly by the lucra-

tive offices which he enjoyed, but chiefly on account of the discovery of valuable minerals on his estate, his daughter Isabella Hamilton brought with her on her marriage a considerable fortune, the good effect of which was seen a few years later in the acquisition of lands which have become historically associated with the House of Airlie. The newly-married couple, according to the family custom, made their home at Airlie Castle, where, with occasional visits to the Castle of Forther, they continued to reside until the death of Lord Ogilvy in 1617, when they removed to Farnell, making Airlie Castle available for the Dowager Lady Ogilvy.

The Master of Ogilvy, when he succeeded to the Airlie estates and to the title of Lord Ogilvy in 1617, was thus thirty-one years of age. By this time the duties of the baileries were gradually being transferred to the Civil Magistrate, and what little power was left to the holder of the hereditary office made no great demand on his vigorous and versatile mind. In consequence, most of his energy was directed to the management and improvement of his estates, which had been sadly neglected and heavily burdened by the carelessness, if not the incapacity for business, of his father. Bolshan Castle for almost two hundred years had been the chief residence of the Ogilvys of Airlie; but the loss of the civil power led Lord Ogilvy to reconsider the tenure of the lands bordering on the Mearns. He had other views in front of him. There were lands nearer the centre of the Ogilvy influence on which he had cast his eye, the acquisition of which would make his estates more compact. Accordingly, in 1623, he sold the lands of Bolshan and Farnell to David, first Earl of Southesk, and in 1625 he made a purchase of great interest to the family history, the lands of Cortachy and Clova; while in the same year he acquired from the Lindsays the lands of Alyth, the barony of Alyth, Pitnacree, and Inverquiech, including the old castle of historic renown. While these transactions were in process of conveyance, Lord Ogilvy came into an unfortunate collision with his stepmother, which led to acrimonious relations and eventually to prolonged litigation; and if

the Dowager Lady Ogilvy had failed to perceive the character of her stepson, she soon came to learn that he could be as inflexible as he was imperturbable. The family papers, together with the heirlooms—many of which were of historical value—were housed at Airlie Castle, and the charge against “Dame Elizabeth Napier” was that, during her husband’s illness and unknown to him, and while Lord Ogilvy was absent, she went secretly to Airlie Castle and had “the hault wryttis and evidentis transported out of the house of Airlie under cover of night and without the knowledge of her husband.” After his father’s death, on the visit becoming known to him, Lord Ogilvy posted hot haste to Airlie, where his stepmother had gone to reside according to the terms of the marriage contract; and satisfying himself that the strong-box had been forced and the papers and gear extracted, demanded what had become of them and where they were deposited. As she refused to give him any satisfaction and persisted in denying all knowledge of their whereabouts, as alleged in her complaint to the Privy Council :

“She was committed prisoner in a chamber of the tower quhich war watched day and nicht during his abode yer, and yat scho had no commandment in ye house nor libertie to sie hir childring, and yat yis Lord Ogilvy used ye commandment of ye house before his father’s death; and yat many disgraces wes done to hir be George Ogilvy his uncle, and yat he tink hir sister purs from hir and yat her servants war tortured.”

It was peremptory treatment and quite in keeping with the determined character of Lord Ogilvy, though he did not admit the truth of it, saying, “They are all forged calumnies invented only to extenuate ye gryt wrongs scho did to me.” But in meting out punishment to his stepmother he overstepped the limits of discretion. She had her marriage settlement, the chief part of which was a life-rent of the lands and mills of Easter Campsie, but this he abrogated, and, denying her the use of Airlie Castle, “Dame Elizabeth Napier” was cast adrift without a home and with the scantiest provision. She

appealed to the Privy Council for redress, where the Earl of Melrose, as a Lord of Council, stated that he had approached his son-in-law and had advised him to compromise the dispute, but without effect; adding that as he had discovered her to be in distress, he had allowed her an aliment of "6 chalders of meal." On the Lords of Secret Council reporting the case to King James, His Majesty wrote from Whitehall, 1619, "Anent the auld Ladie Ogilvy, that Lord Ogilvy should yield to some of the demands of Elizabeth Napier, Ladie Ogilvy, for her seasonabill satisfactiōne." If his father-in-law had failed to influence him, the entreaty of the King had no better result. He remained obdurate and immovable.

In this crisis of her fortune the Dowager Lady Ogilvy married, in 1621, Alexander Auchmoutie, Gentleman of the King's Bedchamber, but this matrimonial alliance, instead of relieving the situation, augmented the difficulty, as with the consent, if not at the instigation of her husband, she filed a lawsuit in the Court of Session, which, after having run the gauntlet of the Court in appeal and counter-appeal for the space of four years, was finally decided on the ground of equity that Lord Ogilvy, while in several points the judgment was in his favour, should be

"ordained to pay his stepmother 36,000 merks and to give security to her son, James Ogilvy, for payment of 4,000 merks with the annual rent amounting to 8,000 merks at his majority in full satisfaction of all claims."

On being informed of the judgment, King James wrote to Lord Ogilvy expressing the hope that he would obtemper the decision, and in his reply he indicated that "in obedience" to His Majesty's wish he "submitted to the decision of the Lords of Session," but "craved His Majesty to possess himself of a full report." This was perhaps the last essay of James in the office of peace-maker. "A full report," however, was not called for, as, when Lord Ogilvy's letter reached him, the King was in the height of that intermitting fever which so baffled all the efforts of his physicians and at length proved fatal

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on 27th March, 1625. The case, however, survived. While Lord Ogilvy was satisfied, Dame Elizabeth Napier was sorely aggrieved by the judgment as being altogether inadequate. She appealed to Charles I. immediately on his accession, if haply he might avenge her of her adversary. The King remitted the petition to the Privy Council to consider and report. On 16th July, 1625, Lord Ogilvy was summoned to appear before the Lords of Secret Council "on the busyness between your lordship and your mother-in-law." As the Dowager Lady Ogilvy received a like summons on the like "busyness," that meeting of the Privy Council must have been a memorable one, as the stately Baron, cool, collected, imperturbable, yet determined, resolute, and as immovable as a rock, confronted his stepmother, who was burdened with the consciousness that she had been the offender. As the result proved, entreaty was in vain; solicitude was fruitless; reconsideration was not entertained; while anything in the nature of compulsion was not attempted on so formidable a personality as Lord Ogilvy. The Lords of the Secret Council reported to Charles :

"that they had several meetings with Lord Ogilvy and his mother-in-law and conferred with them on the matter in dispute, and did what they could to clear away difficulties and draw them together, but Lord Ogilvy declined; and as his lordship takes his stand on the decision of the Lords of Session in the case, the Lords of Council are helpless as they have no power to overrule the said judgment. But they take the liberty of suggesting to His Majestic that as Lady Ogilvy is in distressful circumstances having received nothing from her husband's estate for her maintenance since his decease eight years ago, she might receive satisfaction."

Charles had intervened, but without effect, as in a letter of Lord Ogilvy dated a year later—24th July, 1626—he wrote that he "has received the King's letter regarding his mother-in-law," and adds, "I have resaved grit wrong be my mother-in-law in this errand from the beginning." In the end Dame Elizabeth Napier capitulated, and on 5th May, 1627, "Alexander Auchmoutie, Gentleman of the King's Privy Chambers," signed "a

discharge to James, Lord Ogilvy, for a Bond of 36,000 merks."

Now that the Castles of Bolshan and Farnell were sold, Airlie Castle, after an interval of one hundred and twenty years, became again the chief seat of Lord Ogilvy. It might have remained so but for an adventitious circumstance which drove him to seek shelter in another direction. Stormy days were in front of him. Great problems were looming on the horizon; questions of momentous importance whose civil and religious character, scarcely distinguishable, were being discussed with bated breath. The atmosphere in Church and State was being heavily charged with combustible elements, which sooner or later would break forth in eruption and set the whole kingdom in a blaze with the ancient feud between the Crown and nobility which had marked the course of Scottish history during the two previous centuries. But till that day came when Lord Ogilvy should find himself in the valley of decision and should be called upon to determine his line of conduct upon the great problems of constitutional authority and ecclesiastical polity, he was busily engaged on matters of an administrative character. To those who knew his intense loyalty to his Sovereign and the true nobility of his character, his high principles, his unwavering devotion to his ideal, and his strong attachment to the Episcopal orders in the Church, there would be little room for speculation as on which side he would throw the weight of his influence when the time came. But meanwhile he employed his time and his energy in a variety of useful ways.

Early in the year 1627, Charles I., who had recognised his loyal attachment, and had highly appreciated his strength of character and practical wisdom, entrusted Lord Ogilvy with the care of his interests throughout the Midlands of Scotland. From his rank and following, his talents and energy, he was well qualified to render the royal cause efficient service. A man of good sense, sound judgment, and, notwithstanding his stern demeanour and inflexible will, of generous disposition and open-heartedness, he was popular amongst the nobility and the

idol of his own people. Though by no means widely read in the scholastic literature of the period, he had an intimate knowledge of affairs and took a broad view of things. Intensely patriotic, he was an enthusiastic soldier, and by his military training on the Continent was skilled in the use of arms and the disposition of troops. On his accession to the throne, Charles I. had declared his intention of prosecuting war with Spain, while by his own action he was practically on the verge of hostilities with France as well. There was thus a real danger of invasion by the enemy. Although on the ground that the Scottish nobility had always been opposed to anything in the nature of a standing army he had been denied the raising of a defensive force with the necessary shipping, the country in its own interests was forced to make provision against possible attack, and to be ready, if need should arise, to meet the threatened danger. For this purpose wapinshawes, first established by statutory authority in 1491 in the reign of James IV., and regulated by statute in 1540 by James V., were energetically revived. By an order of the Privy Council all fencible men were ordered to report themselves by 7th November, 1627, at their several centres. Persons worth £10 of yearly rent or £50 of goods were required to be in possession of such defensive arms as a hat or helmet or gorget, a pisan bracing before and behind, with plates to cover the front of the thighs and legs, and a gauntlet. The yeomen worth £20 in effects, to have a habergeon, iron hat, bow, quiver, sword, buckler, and dagger, and, if they were not archers, an axe or a pike. The burgher worth £50 in goods was to arm as a gentleman, and those worth £20 were to arm as a yeoman. Every man was thus liable to be called out to war. In country districts they were at the call of their chiefs, and in towns of their Provost. The chiefs, arrayed in helmet and suit of plate-armour, with battle-axe, the two-handed sword, the common sword, or the spear, mounted on their protected war-horses, richly covered with embroidered cloth displaying the heraldic bearings of their owners, took the lead in their particular districts and superintended the muster.

The whole country was speedily alive with the tramp of armed men, as, apart from the immediate cause for anxiety, it was never difficult to summon the Highlanders to arms. Military adventure in one form or another was their delight as well as their employment; and all works of industry were considered unworthy of the dignity of a mountaineer. Even the necessary task of raising the crop of barley for their favourite mountain-dew was assigned to the aged, and to the women and children. The men thought of nothing but hunting and war. Lord Ogilvy, who was appointed to command the wapinshawe in the area covered by the Presbytery of Brechin, was responsible for the muster of all fencible men in his own immediate districts of Kinnell, Glenisla, and Airlie, and he would have no difficulty in collecting the hillmen, who would instantly respond to his call. An ardent soldier, in the flush of his manhood, this was an occupation altogether to his liking, and as a spirited patriot he threw the full flood of his energy into it while the danger lasted; and, as events proved, this experience in commanding an armed force stood him in good stead when he was called upon to engage in active defence of the royal authority. In addition to superintending the wapinshawe, he was appointed a Commissioner, and performed the duties assiduously, to ascertain the weak points along the east coast where forts should be most conveniently erected, especially in the neighbourhood of Montrose, Burntisland, and Inchgarvie; and to consider how and by whom such forts might be constructed and guarded; and also to ascertain where beacons should be set up throughout the kingdom, and how and by whom they should be maintained. These commissions Lord Ogilvy discharged with great alacrity and fidelity, and his reports on the varied subjects are illuminating reading, and show, if not the grace of a literary style, at least the thoroughness with which he performed the task entrusted to him and the intimate technical knowledge he possessed of military science.

The Earl of Haddington, who besides being a great lawyer was a distinguished man of letters, has put on

record the distracted state of society at this period, especially in the Highlands, "by the cruel dissensions arising from public factions and private feuds so that men of every rank daily wore steel-jacks and knapsacks or headpieces, plate-sleeves, and pistols and poniards, as necessary parts of their apparel as their doublets and breeches." Their disposition was, of course, as warlike as their dress, and fights and affrays were the necessary consequence. This state of disorder was not owing to any want of laws against such enormities, but to the existing lack of enforcement. "In making good laws," he wrote, "we are allowed some skill, but God knows how ill they are kept and enforced." The reason was not far to seek. The Barons for centuries had claimed the exclusive right of trial and punishment of such crimes as were committed within their jurisdiction, and, as they often did not choose to do so, either because the malefactor was an active partisan, or because the Judge and criminal stood in some degree of relationship to each other, justice was frustrated. James VI., as soon as he felt he had the power, made great reformation in these particulars; while Charles I. at once set himself to eradicate this practice of violence and thirst for revenge which had so long been a characteristic of the Scottish people. But the custom of deadly feud, or the duty, as it was thought, of exacting blood for blood by way of a debt of honour, died a slow and lingering death; especially in the remote districts of the Highlands. The Scottish capital was a favourite centre for such turbulent scenes, where street-fights between the leaders of the several clans were at one time of daily occurrence. In country districts these spirited antagonists might contrive to avoid a meeting by a conveniently intervening distance; but in the city they could hardly escape confronting each other sooner or later. In 1630, when Lord Ogilvy chanced to be in Edinburgh, one of these encounters took place in the High Street of which he was an eyewitness; and though he did his best to dissuade the parties to the dispute from contesting the matter by resort to arms—a method of settlement of which he highly disapproved—the passions on

either side proved to be too strong for his persuasive influence. Alexander Fraser, Lord Saltoun of Philorth, had a grudge of some kind against Alexander Strachan of Glenkindie. While Lord Ogilvy was engaged in conversation with the former, the latter suddenly emerged from one of the vennels which lead into the High Street, when instantly swords were drawn; and after vain attempts to keep them apart, a ferocious combat ensued, the result of which was that Lord Saltoun was seriously injured, "to the hurting wounding of him for his bodily harm and slaughter, and to the effusion of his blood in great quantity." When the two defaulters were summoned to appear before the Privy Council to answer for this breach of the law and disturbance of the peace, although Lord Ogilvy could not prevent the fight, both agreed to submit the matter in dispute to him as arbitrator, and solemnly pledged themselves to abide by his judgment.

For more than a century before the Reformation there was great indifference on the part of the mass of the people, not excluding the nobility, to the seasonal worship of the Church; only the few who were temperamentally inclined honoured the Christian seasons. Lent especially was only observed by a small minority who were of a deeply religious turn of mind. Consequently, when the Reformers made a clean sweep of the holy-days, with the exception of the few who were wedded to the ancient forms, there was no demur in the Protestant community; on the contrary, their abolition appeared to be a seemly procedure to the great majority of the nation. Although in face of his glaring inconsistency little value can be attached to his opinions, James VI. was at one time in hearty sympathy with the Church on the subject, as may be gathered from the extravagant speech he made in the General Assembly of 1590, when he said—

"that he was pleased to be King in such a Kirk, the sincerest Kirk in the world. The Kirk of Geneva keepeth Pasche and Yule: what have they for them? They have no institutions. As for our neighbour Kirk in England, it is an evil-said Mass in English, wanting nothing but the liftings. I charge you,

my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity and to exort the people to do the same: and I, forsooth, so long as I brook my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all deadly."

The sunshine of the royal favour actually lasted for the long term of four years, when, on seeing visions of the crown of England, he veered round to the opposite extreme, and by 1618 imposed upon the Church the Articles of Perth, with the view of bringing his Mother-Kirk in line with "our neighbour Kirk in England" and its "evil-said Mass." The result was that the Bishops took heart of grace and revived the holy-days. Lord Ogilvy, who in early boyhood was carefully nurtured in the tenets of the Christian faith by his grandfather, was a devout communicant of the Church, a strong adherent of Episcopacy, and a strict observer of all religious forms. It is anticipating events, but it was said of him during the Civil War, that whenever he was present no unseemly word was ever heard to escape the lips of a Royalist soldier, as this was known to be offensive to him. It may not, however, have been on religious grounds that he applied for a license "to eat flesh during this forbidden tyme of Lent." Strict as he was in observing the conventionalities of life, the likelihood is that the reason was political more than religious, economic rather than spiritual, and arose out of the conditions of food control at that time. While the ancient Church had proclaimed the doctrine "that due and godly abstynence is a means to vertue and to subdue men's Bodies to their Soule and Spirite," the State, discarding the religious point of view, on the wholly utilitarian ground that "Fysshers and Men using the trade of lyvinge by fysshinge in the sea" would "be sett on work" by seasonal abstinence from flesh, passed an Act prohibiting the use of it on Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, and the whole period of Lent. The object clearly was to serve the double purpose of fostering the fisheries, which for long had been a valuable export and productive of much revenue; and to conserve the flocks and herds which had been greatly depleted—as the Act

states, "by eating of fysshe much flesh" would be "saved and encreased." Such drastic legislation caused a great deal of resentment among all classes of the people, especially as the penalties attached to the transgression of the law were considerable; these being in the case of an Earl one hundred pounds; one hundred merks for a Lord; and forty pounds for a Baron; whilst for a gentleman or burgess, such "as shall be thought meet by the Judge, in proportion to his income." Now, while many out of a deep religious feeling might willingly observe the law of abstinence when it was ordained by the Church for the good of their souls, they strongly resented the enactment by the State when it was for the good of others. There was particular hardship on those who, like Lord Ogilvy, dwelt at a distance from the sea, and felt as a grievance the burden of expense which their supplies entailed. The result was that all who were able secured a license "to eat flesh on the fish days"; and as the Bishops were reluctant to grant a dispensation on the holy-days, Lord Ogilvy must have shown good reason and presented forcible arguments before he received the following:

"LICENS FOR ETTING OF FLESHE

The Lords of Secret Counsell gives and grants libertie and license be thir presents to James, Lord Ogilvy, and such as sall accompanie him at table to eat flesh during this forbidden tyme of Lent, and upon Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, for the space of ane year next after the date heirof, without pains or danger to be incurred be thame thairthrow, notwithstanding quahatsomever acts or proclamations made in the contrare, quharanent the said Lordes dispense be thir presents given at Edinburgh the first of March 1636.

(Signed) ALEXANDER, St. Andrews  
DAVID, Edinburgh  
THOMAS HOPE."

Lord Ogilvy took his seat in the Legislative Chamber in 1625—the first Parliament of Charles I. His stay was brief, as, unlike his nimble-witted cousin, the Earl of Montrose, he had no great aptitude for Parliamentary life. He was shrewd and clever enough; had great

strength of character, and sound practical knowledge of affairs; but he had no taste for dialectics; subtle argument, which often consists, in such debating centres, of making the worse appear the better reason, was altogether foreign to his blunt, honest nature; while to intrigue his manly spirit could never stoop. He was trusted; he might be feared; but suspicion never cast its shadow on his open countenance. He was stern; he could be formidable; but honesty, uprightness, rectitude, straightforwardness, were the dominant qualities of his nature. He was highly esteemed by his compeers, and he was greatly beloved by his own people. His word was his bond and its redemption was as certain as sunrise. Autocratic he might be, but this was more on account of his strong will and clear judgment than by any want of consideration or coldness of heart. Determined he certainly was, once he had set his mind on pursuing a settled course of action; and if he did not always count the cost, having put "his hand to the plough" he never looked back. If, then, he did not prosecute his Parliamentary duties, it was not that he preferred leisure, for, as already stated, he was actively employed in other matters more congenial to his temperament and of no less value to the State. Besides, during the intervening years he gave much of his time to the development of the Airlie estates, which now assumed vast dimensions, stretching from the hills of Clova along the Grampian chain to the upper reaches of Glenisla, and south to Alyth and the Braes of Angus. It was a lordly property. From east to west, Airlie Castle was the centre of his wide dominions, and there he had made his home. He dearly loved the ancient Fortalice, the seat of his ancestors, where he was born, and where amid its sylvan beauty he had spent the early years of his boyhood and youth, and where he had taken his young bride. But great movements were now on foot that were to call him from his romantic abode, and instead of enjoying a poetic ease in this quiet retreat, he was destined to be drawn into the whirlpool of political and religious strife of the most rancorous character. It is, however, necessary, in order to understand Lord Ogilvy's

attitude on these great problems of this period, that the posture of affairs should be submitted to review.

For centuries the Kings of Scotland sat upon the throne, but the nobles ruled the country. This was democracy of a kind, and perhaps the only form of it that was practicable at the time. Autocratic rule was never conceded to a King of Scots. If he were wise, prudent, and endowed with practical knowledge, he might exert a manifold influence and make his power felt; but to appropriate the reins of government was denied him. But James VI., who boasted that "he knew the stomach" of his subjects, and who with all his follies was not a fool, contrived, by virtue of his apparent weakness and rollicking humour, to wheedle his way into the heart of things, and with the utmost self-complacency gradually absorbed within himself the administration of the kingdom, so that at the union of the Crowns his government of Scotland may fairly be described as a benevolent despotism. Nothing was too trivial for his countenance, nothing too mean for the exercise of his authority. On Church polity, a matter which affected the nation so deeply, he displayed such versatility in his religious principles, and after his removal to England made such a somersault of all the professions of his earlier years, as to leave no doubt that in supporting the hierarchy he did so in the belief that he could thereby establish his power. Educated in the sentiments of his father, Charles I., on his accession to the throne, gave expression to the most erroneous ideas respecting the nature and extent of his prerogative, which were all the less graciously received on account of his cold and forbidding manner. But there was this difference between father and son—that, while James held strong opinions of his own right as Sovereign, he was timid and flexible, and at all times an opportunist; whereas Charles, animated by principle, had the strength of will to assert his power and to press it obstinately. After his accession to the English throne, and enamoured of his position as the declared head of the Church of England, James set himself to remodel the Church of Scotland and to bring

it into line with the sister establishment, with the deliberate intention of obtaining for the Crown some influence in its counsels. At an earlier period, in ventilating his views in favour of Episcopal orders, he was shrewd enough to refer to the "First Book of Discipline," which provided for the appointment of Superintendents, and he naïvely professed that all he now desired was to establish this order under its proper designation. Under this guise the body of the clergy, willing to humour his whimsical mood, though with reluctance, agreed to the proposal, but on the condition and with the solemn assurance that no additional change should be required of them. It was nothing to James that the people were ill-disposed to the new régime; for the time being he had prevailed, and this thought pleased his autocratic ambition. But when the tide turned against his cherished scheme, and in the hour of his chagrin he annexed the temporalities of all the bishoprics to the Crown and squandered the sacrilegious plunder among his favourite courtiers, he little thought of the difficulties that he was storing up for his own and his son's future. In 1606, when the formal restoration of Episcopacy took place by royal and arbitrary decree, it did not concern him that no funds were available to support the Bishops. So long as he contrived to have his own way in seeing Episcopacy established in the Scottish Church on the English model of worship and government, he did not in the least trouble himself over the despicable provision that was available for their maintenance.

Charles, however, was of a different mould. With James, Episcopacy was simply a means to an end; whereas Charles, approaching the subject from a high and noble principle, was convinced that, as it existed in the Church of England, it had the sanction of revelation and was Divinely appointed, and to modify or change it would be a breach of the most sacred duty. He clearly saw, too, what gave his father no concern, that a national Church with a gradation of dignified clergy required ample funds to support the position. But where were the funds to be had for such a purpose? They were no-

where available. The patrimony of the Church—so much of it, at least, as had been rescued amid the throes and welter of the Reformation—had already been settled on the parochial clergy for support of the ordinances of religion, and could not now be diverted from the purpose to which Parliament had assigned it; while the ecclesiastical property, which James had annexed to the Crown in 1587, had been squandered in lavish grants to the greater and lesser Barons to purchase their support in the maintenance of his prerogative. In this dilemma, Charles, with good intention and from the purest of motives, yet deeply sensible of the opposition on which he must reckon from the most powerful section of the nation, and knowing well that there would be few noble families whom his proposals did not materially affect, resolved by an Act of Revocation to resume to the Crown the property of the Church which his father had conferred on his favourites, and by this means obtain the funds that were necessary for the endowment of the hierarchy. As might be expected, this scheme excited considerable dissatisfaction on the part of those who had been enriched by the patrimony of the Church, and, as they were both numerous and powerful, they resolved to oppose it; and contriving to throw in the way of its execution so many obstacles, Charles was obliged to considerably modify it. A compromise was effected, but even this left a rancorous feeling and drove many of the nobles into the Presbyterian fold who otherwise were favourable to Episcopacy. Besides, his marriage to the Catholic Princess, Henrietta Maria, the sister of the French monarch, in whatever degree it contributed to his domestic happiness, excited such apprehensions of the soundness of his Protestantism as to regard with suspicion every act of his religious policy. Had he only taken the trouble to study the temper of his Scottish subjects, and especially the independent spirit of the nobility, he might have escaped the great disaster which fell upon himself and the Stewart line. If, for instance, he had annulled the detested Articles of Perth, which the great body of the people desired, he might have redeemed the situation; on

the contrary, he let it be understood, in defiance of the general opinion, that no Church could be satisfactory to him, or have his countenance and approval, in which these Articles were not accepted by its members. So strained was the situation and so hostile were the people, that many of the nobility took counsel together to dethrone Charles and to place the Marquis of Hamilton on the throne.

In this combustible state the country was found, when the King, in 1633, signified his intention of visiting Scotland for the purpose of being crowned. Upon his arrival, he was received by the nobility with every expression of the warmest loyalty; and that they might show him the utmost deference and honour, they expended vast sums of money which many of them could ill afford. But the wine of their joy was speedily turned into the gall of bitterness when they saw the Archbishop of Glasgow, who appeared at the Coronation in a Geneva gown, rudely thrust aside by Laud, and another who was arrayed in the vestments of the Church of England put in his place. The cloud was gathering. Ten days after the Coronation Charles assembled the Parliament. From the nature of its constitution he could exercise a powerful influence over its deliberations, but he let it be understood that it could expect his favour only by being subject to his will in all things. The claim was that of absolute authority, autocratic power; that whatever he should choose to ordain should, without the intervention of the Estates, have the force of law. This claim was contested and violently opposed, and when the matter was submitted to the vote, although the great majority were hostile, the Clerk of Parliament declared that the result was in favour of His Majesty. A great number of noblemen who saw the trend of affairs were filled with the gloomiest apprehension. The atmosphere was heavily charged; one false step and there would be a conflagration.

This step was taken in 1637, when Charles ordained that the liturgical form of service of the Church of England known as "Laud's Liturgy" should be adopted in the Church of Scotland. Since the Reformation the

form of service in the Scottish Church had been liturgical; "Knox's Liturgy" being in common use throughout the country. This fact should be borne in mind, for it proves that the opposition which issued in the Solemn Covenant was not against a liturgy *per se*, but against that of Laud in particular. The command went forth that at every market-cross the Sovereign's will should be proclaimed, and this brought things to a crisis and kindled all the slumbering discontent into a raging tumult. The whole country was instantly in a ferment. Many of the clergy who had grown up under Episcopacy and had received ordination at the hands of the Bishops, might have accepted the Service Book, but the great majority of the nobility and the body of the laity were opposed to it as a reversion to mediæval forms; only the few ardent Episcopalians who were loyally devoted to Charles supported the innovation.

Lord Ogilvy, who was present in the Parliament of 1633 and voted in favour of the absolute authority of Charles, being an Episcopalian of pronounced views, having grown up under the system and by his constitution conservative, gave his support to the proposal of the King. Besides being in sympathy with it, or at least not averse to it, he saw King Charles assailed on all hands, and this was enough for one of his deep sense of loyalty to the throne to throw discretion to the wind and stand by the consequences. He made no secret of his attitude; it was known far and wide that he endorsed the policy of the Sovereign and would adhere to it. He was not the type of man to discriminate on delicate points of doctrine. He had not the subtlety of mind to trace the tender threads of theological casuistry. He had not the gift of dialectics. He was a plain man of action, by choice a soldier, and for him it was a simple question of authority. The King had issued the command; it was for the subject to obey.

Although Lord Ogilvy had been told what the consequences might be to himself and his family, this would have made no difference. He was much too strong a man to be influenced by threat or fear of trouble and loss.

What opinions he entertained he held strongly, and he had the courage of them. Though in a small minority he was in no way disconcerted, and did not in the least change his attitude; he stood firmly by his decision deliberately and conscientiously taken, and was prepared to await the result. The majority, reluctant to push things to extreme length, supplicated Charles to reconsider his proposal to impose upon the Church the English Service Book, but his reply, as they had expected, was that it would be maintained, and that opposition to it would be visited as treason. This was a deliberate challenge, and as such it was accepted. It was the gage of battle. Adopting the time-honoured custom, in all their enterprises against the Crown, of entering into a bond or covenant of mutual defence, the Scottish nobles, with the great bulk of the nation behind them, drew up the "National League and Covenant," which defined their position, and to uphold which they gave their pledge. It was signed by the great majority of the nobility, and by the great mass of the people of all ranks throughout the country; but Lord Ogilvy, who had remained in Edinburgh to face the situation, refused to subscribe the deed. In April of 1638 he returned to Airlie Castle to await the issue.

In the temper of the nation civil war was inevitable. Charles was the first to move in the direction of hostilities. The Marquis of Hamilton urged upon him the necessity of collecting an army to enforce his policy, and this was earnestly seconded by Laud. Early in December, 1638, preparations which had hitherto been secretly conducted were openly avowed. Besides calling upon his supporters in England, the King summoned to his standard a few of the nobility in Scotland whom he knew to be loyally attached to his person. Lord Ogilvy received the royal command to report himself at York by 1st April, 1639. He immediately obeyed; and leaving Airlie Castle in full armour, accompanied by a number of his clansmen equipped for war, he rode by the east-coast route through the county of Berwick to York, where Charles and his army arrived on the day which he had

specified. Meanwhile the Covenanters, who numbered among them men of great wisdom and sagacity, being fully apprised of His Majesty's designs, took every precaution not only to muster their forces, but exerted themselves to remove all prejudice against their cause which might be entertained in England. As Charles, in raising his army, had avowed that the preparations in Scotland had forced him to provide for the defence of England and to resist invasion, the Covenanters were careful to publish abroad and give the most explicit assurances that they had no intention of invading England; that they were loyal to the throne, and only the necessity of guarding their civil and religious liberties had led them to resist the royal authority. But dexterous as this policy was and in a measure successful, the Covenanters did not rely on propaganda; the appeal was to the sword, and the sword should decide. On hearing that the royal army was on the march from London to York, the Lords of the Covenant moved towards the Border. On his arrival at York, Lord Ogilvy was given command of a cavalry regiment under the Earl of Holland. The following day—2nd April, 1639—he was commanded to appear before His Majesty, who, in the presence of the assembled noblemen and on the tented field, created him "Earl of Airlie, Lord Ogilvy of Alyth and Lintrathen, with remainder to his heirs male."

When, however, the armies came in touch with each other there was practically no fighting beyond an affair of outposts, so that the Earl of Airlie had no opportunity of showing his prowess in the field; this was reserved for a future campaign. Whereas the royal army, formidable in appearance, was soon found to be lukewarm in the cause of Charles I., much dissension prevailing in the ranks, and many who composed it being sympathetic with the Scottish claims; that of the Covenant—composed largely of seasoned troops who had been trained in the wars of the Continent, whose Colonels were the highest nobles of Scotland, and whose Captains were of high rank and fortune, under the command of Alexander Leslie, a soldier of great skill and experience, and all alike dis-

playing the utmost order and discipline, and devoted to their leaders—was a great contrast. How Charles must have felt when he saw the new colours upon which were the arms of Scotland, with these words in golden letters : “For Christ’s Crown and Covenant” ! It would cause him to reflect, as assuredly it did. Neither side was eager to come to blows on what was recognised as a fratricidal war. Before resorting to the clash of arms, the Covenanting leaders proposed that an attempt should be made to effect a compromise ; and for this purpose the Earl of Dunfermline was sent to the royal camp. Charles received him in the most gracious spirit and immediately determined to open negotiations. With give and take on both sides an accommodation was reached, in which for permission to hold a free Assembly and a Parliament the Covenanters undertook to “disband their forces, surrender their strongholds, hold no meetings but such as were warrantable by law, and to carry themselves like humble, loyal, and obedient subjects.” It will presently be seen that this treaty was accepted by the Covenanting Lords with mental reservations.

The Earl of Airlie shrewdly suspected that the future was not to be a reign of brotherhood and charity. Instead of coming north to his own dominions on the strength of this friendly agreement, he returned to London with the King. Subsequent events proved that he had wisely divined the temper of his compatriots. Although the Lords of the Covenant had gained their cause without a drop of blood being shed, he well knew their vindictive character, and that they would neither forgive nor forget the part he had taken in his support of the claim to autocratic power, and in seeking to force the English Service Book upon the Church against the will and in violation of the conscience of the people.

He had not long to wait for the justification of his estimate. Now that they had the power, the Lords of the Covenant, headed by the Earl of Argyll, soon after the Parliament met in August, 1639, thus making use of their freedom, took measures to punish all those who had aided and abetted Charles I. in his recent intrusion upon the

liberties of the subject. They had claimed their own liberty; now they were to deny such liberty to others who might differ from them. They were prepared to fight against Charles and resist him to the death, because he sought to impose his will upon them whether they agreed or not; now no will but their own was to be allowed. It was inconsistent but by no means an uncommon feature of party politics, where liberty and restraint are often indistinguishable. As the Earl of Airlie had refused to subscribe the Covenant, and joined in the still more heinous offence of taking up arms against it, the Lords of the Covenant resolved that he should be punished in proportion to his crime. He was, however, beyond their reach, and their arms could not stretch to Hampton Court. But if they could not strike at his person, they were not to be foiled of their prey. They could still let him feel the weight of their resentment by laying waste his lands and laying low his castles. Accordingly, in the autumn of 1639, as soon as the free Parliament had risen, the Earl of Montrose was commissioned to proceed with a sufficient force and take and destroy Airlie Castle, then the chief seat of the Earl of Airlie. Of all the Lords of the Covenant surely the Earl of Montrose was the strangest selection that could have been made. The Earl of Airlie's full cousin, he was the bosom friend of Lord Ogilvy, his college companion and most intimate associate. The only explanation that suggests itself is that as the Earl of Airlie numbered among his friends many of the Lords of the Covenant who were disposed to moderate views, and who, notwithstanding their difference of opinion, yet held him in high esteem for the true nobility of his character, they had purposely selected the Earl of Montrose on the strength of his relationship and in the belief that moderation would prevail. In this they were not disappointed. Arriving at Airlie Castle, he summoned Lord Ogilvy to surrender, but instead of doing so he made the spirited reply that as his father had left no such order with him he would defend it to the last. A few shots were fired on both sides, perhaps to give face to an attack, when the Earl of Montrose suddenly dis-

covered that he had neither sufficient men nor means to reduce a place so strong by nature and art.

Airlie Castle is superbly situated on the promontory formed by the confluence of the Melgam and the Isla. The present Castle, a small wing of the ancient Fortalice, was restored in 1792-3; but so much of the old Tower remains as is sufficient to show the massiveness and strength of the original home of the Ogilvys of Airlie. In the old statistical account of the parish of Airlie, the Rev. James Stormont, M.A., who saw the Castle as it was left after the burning, gives the following description of it :

“The Castle is situated in the north-west corner of the parish, at the conflux of the Milgam and the Isla. It is built on a promontory, formed by these two rivers, and elevated above their bed more than 100 feet. It has been a large and strong fortress, seemingly inaccessible in every side but the South, on which it has been secured by a ditch or drawbridge more than 20, perhaps 30, feet wide, and a wall, the front of the Castle 10 feet thick and 35 feet high. For romantic situation and natural beauties such as the serpentine windings of the rivers, trees and shrubs starting from the brows of steep rocks and lining the sides of deep dens, it exceeds anything in this part of the country.”

The Lords of the Covenant, and especially their Chief, the Earl of Argyll, were roused to indignation over the failure of the Earl of Montrose to storm and lay waste Airlie Castle. On this they had determined, nor were they to be denied. Accordingly, on 12th June, 1640, largely on his own initiative, a Commission of “Fire and Sword” was granted to the Earl of Argyll, empowering him utterly to subdue and root out all such enemies of the Covenant as the Earl of Airlie. Such a commission would be like marrow to his bones. Archibald, eighth Earl of Argyll, called “Archibald the Grim,” has entered into history as a strangely complex personality. The chief of a powerful clan that was well organised and obedient to every call for service, he enjoyed the widest possessions, and, excepting the Marquis of Huntly, the largest revenues of any Highland lord. It was his proud

boast that he was "the eighth man from Robert Bruce," and it must be said that he came of a long line of able, distinguished, and astute men. He was gifted with a brilliant intellect, keen, subtle, and dexterous; and, as was said of him by one who knew him well, required "only courage and honesty to make him a very great man." Described as "a lean, narrow-chested man, with close-set squinting eyes, a thin drooping nose, and a sinister mouth," and in character as "dark, close, and crafty"; "a man," says Sir Walter Scott, "well qualified to affect a complete devotion to the ends of others when he was in fact bent on forwarding his own." But perhaps his father's estimate of him is the most severe of all. Writing to Charles I., who at the time had shown some partiality towards him, he states :

"Sir, I must know this young man better than you can do. You may raise him which I doubt you will live to repent; for he is a man of craft, subtlety, and falsehood, and can love no man; and if ever he finds it in his power to do you a mischief, he will be sure to do it."

Like all double-minded and deceitful men, he was a coward at heart, as this narrative will show later on, and, moreover, when it was in his power he could be as cruel as he was crafty. Many of the barbarities of the Covenant must be laid to his account. These were often inflicted, not in the defence of "pure and undefiled religion," but often in self-interest and out of personal hatred. Under the guise of religion and on the plea of enthusiasm for the faith, he took occasion to ventilate his own personal grievances and to perpetuate his clan feuds. "If ever he finds it in his power to do you a mischief, he will be sure to do it," gives the key to his conduct on this occasion when he accepted with alacrity the Commission of "Fire and Sword," knowing well that his great antagonist would not be at hand to defend himself. It was a commission, under the circumstances, which only a mean man and a coward would undertake. But it gave him the opportunity, under the guise of conventional authority, of wreaking his vengeance on one of the here-



LADY HELEN OGILVY.  
*(From portrait at Cortachy Castle.)*



ditary foes of his House; and let it be said that he used his chance unsparingly, and, without thinking how it might some day recoil upon himself should the Earl of Airlie be of a mind to retaliate, which he was most likely to do, he did the work of destruction so thoroughly that, in the language of the ballad, he did not "leave a stan'in' stane in Airly."

## THE BONNIE HOUSE O' AIRLY

"It fell on a day, a bonnie summer day,  
When the corn was brearin' fairly,  
That there fell oot a great dispute  
Atween Argyll and Airly.

Argyll has ta'en a hunder o' his men,  
A hunder men and mairly,  
And he's awa' by the back o' Dunkeld,  
To plunder the bonnie house o' Airly.

The Lady looked o'er the high castle wa',  
And oh! but she sighed sairly,  
When she saw Argyll and a' his men  
Come to plunder the bonnie house o' Airly.

'Come doon, come doon,' said the prood Argyll,  
'Come doon to me, Lady Airly,  
Or I swear by the sword that I haud in my haun,  
I winna leave a stan'in' stane in Airly.'

'I'll no come doon, ye gleyed Argyll,  
Unless ye speak mair fairly,  
Though ye swear by the sword ye haud in yer haun,  
That ye winna leave a stan'in' stane in Airly.

Had my ain Lord been at his hame,  
As he's awa' wi' Charlie,  
There's no a Campbell in a' Argyle  
Daur hae trod in the bonnie green o' Airly.

But sen we can haud oot nae mair,  
My haun I offer fairly,  
Oh! lead me doon to yonder glen  
That I may na see the burnin' o' Airly.'

He has ta'en her by the trembling haun,  
But he's no ta'en her fairly,  
For he's led her up to a hie hill tap,  
Where she saw the burnin' o' Airly.

Clouds o' smoke and flames sae hie  
Soon left the wa's but barely,  
And she's laid her doon on that hill to dee,  
When she saw the burnin' o' Airly."

This beautiful ballad has succeeded in keeping alive in the public mind the historical event which now falls to be related, but before proceeding to do so, it may be advisable to clear the ground of a certain misunderstanding as to which of the castles the song refers. There are many people who, with an air of confidence, declare that it refers to Forther and not to Airlie; but for this opinion they have no ground, as they frankly admit, beyond some nebulous tradition of the countryside which no one can trace to its source. For the lover of ballad literature as for the student of Scottish history, not to speak of the desirability of an accurate statement of historic fact, if the matter can once for all be put to rest it will be a satisfaction to the many who have taken an interest in "The Bonnie House o' Airly." From an impartial view of the evidence that will be submitted there seems little, indeed, no doubt whatever, that Airlie Castle was the scene. This has all along been entertained by the Airlie family. It is true, of course, that such authorities as Jervise in his "Memorial of Angus," and Brown in his "History of the Highlands," have taken the traditional view, not being in possession of the facts, that the ballad refers to Forther, chiefly on the ground that Lady Airlie was known to have been in residence there at the time of the burning of that castle. So likewise has Warden, accepting their authority, declared that "the incident in the ballad took place at Forther, where Lady Ogilvy was then residing, and not at the Castle of Airlie." Now, Warden evidently knew that "the incident" took place between the Earl of Argyll and Lady Helen Ogilvy, but he was misinformed as to the place of residence. As a matter of fact, Lady Helen Ogilvy was at Airlie Castle at the time, and not at Forther. But the song itself is partly to blame for the confusion that exists in the public mind. The truth is that the author, as is not uncommon with poets who are more concerned about the rhythm of

their verse than of the correct statement of historic facts, has made free use of his liberty, mixing up the Countess of Airlie with Lady Helen Ogilvy and the burning of Airlie Castle with that of Forther. But, what is very much to the point and a material fact in the case, of itself sufficient to amount to proof, is the knowledge that the Earl of Argyll was not present in person at the burning of Forther. This will be confirmed presently, but meanwhile it may be stated that his camp was at Airlie, and that he detached a strong company of his force under the command of his Chief Lieutenant to ravage the Airlie lands and destroy Forther while he remained to conduct the siege at Airlie. If, then, these several facts are borne in mind, that the Lady Airlie of the song was Lady Helen Ogilvy and that she was at Airlie Castle, and that the Earl of Argyll was at Airlie and not at Forther, there can be no doubt or question that the ballad refers to the burning of Airlie. Besides, Airlie Castle was then the chief residence of the family and the place which the Earl of Argyll would naturally set himself to attack.

After executing his commission in Badenoch and Mar, the Earl of Argyll struck into Atholl, crossing the Grampians and coming down Strathtay, turned eastward, as the song says, "by the back o' Dunkeld," and rested his troops overnight at Rattray, near Blairgowrie. Next morning—7th July, 1640—"when the corn was brearin' fairly," at the head of five thousand of his men, fully equipped with organs of destruction and a formidable train of the latest improvement in artillery, he set out for Airlie Castle, which he approached from the south. Lord Ogilvy, a man of remarkable courage and resource, brave and intrepid, who was in charge now as on the occasion of the visit of the Earl of Montrose, when he saw their equipment and the strength of the attack, not being prepared for so serious a challenge, and deeming "discretion the best part of valour," fled to Forther to apprise the Countess of Airlie of the danger and to summon his men in Glenisla. The garrison left at Airlie was small, but the position was strong. So he left Lady Helen Ogilvy and the children to the care of the defenders

in the belief that they should be able to hold out till aid was forthcoming. The attack, however, was so formidable and persistent that the defenders were forced to give way. When it was seen that the fall of the fortress was inevitable, Lady Helen Ogilvy made her escape across the Isla and fled with her children to Dundee, and later found shelter at Kinblethmont, where, a few days later, her daughter Marion was born. Airlie Castle thus became an easy prey to the Earl of Argyll, who first plundered it and then burned it to the ground. He is said to have taken an active part in the work of destruction, "took the hammer into his own hands and knocked down the hewed work of the doors and windows till he did sweat for heat." In the absence of the Earl of Airlie the capture of Lord Ogilvy, who, like his father, had refused to subscribe the Covenant, was of next importance. So the Earl of Argyll, when Airlie Castle was ablaze, sent out parties of his men to scour the surrounding country in search of him. One of these parties went as far as Inverquhar Castle, the residence of Sir John Ogilvy, with the following letter; but it returned empty-handed, as Lord Ogilvy and a few followers had taken to the hills and were by that time in hiding.

"LOVEING FREYND,

Sin youre pairting from this, I have gettine certain informatioun that my Lord Ogilvy is this night in youre hous, the which caus I could do no less than direct a company too about youre hous till it be searched. Whereat I entreat you to tak no exceptiounes, for I do noways doubt you. Onlie I will give you this warneing, that if ye press to conceal my Lord Ogilvy in youre hous at this tyme, it will be to youre prejudice more than ye are awar off. And so I hope ye will be wyse. The Gentleman that is Commander of this companie is Colin Campbell, Cawdor's sonne, so referring this to youre consideratiounes, I rest your affectionat freynd

ARGYLL.

From my camp at Airly, 7th July, 1640, for my  
loving freynd, the Laird of Innerquharity."

The Earl of Argyll, as already stated, was not present in person at the burning of Forthar Castle. When the Castle of Airlie was well on the way to destruction, he

sent a strong detachment of his troops, under the command of Dougal Campbell of Inverawe, to lay waste the lands of Lintrathen and Glenisla, and to besiege Forther Castle. They destroyed everything that in a quick march could be laid low. They drove off the cattle, killed and carried off the poultry, appropriating everything that was movable. So thorough was the work of destruction and pillage throughout the Ogilvy lands that, according to an old account, they left "him not in all his lands a cock to crow day." This body of troops completed their commission by burning the Castle of Forther. To judge from the following letter, it may have reached the Earl of Argyll that there was some hesitation over this part of their work, seeing that its occupants had escaped and most of its treasures been removed. But if this were the case, "Archibald the Grim" soon sealed its doom.

"DOWGALL :

I mynd, God willing, to lift from this the morrow, and therefor ye shall meit me the morrow at nicht at Stronarnot in Strathardill, and cans bryng alonges with you the hail nolt and sheip that ye have foundine pertaining to my Lord Ogilvy. As for the horses and mears that ye have gottine pertaining to him, ye shall not fail to direct thame home to Stranemoor. I desyre no that thay be in our way at all and to send thame the neirest way home. And albeit ye shoulde be the langor in following me, yeit ye shall not fail to stay and demolishe my Lord Ogilvy's hous of Forther. Sie how ye can cast off the irone yettis and windows, and tak doon the roof: and iff ye find it will be langsome ye sall fyre it weil, that so it may be destroyed. But ye neid not to lat know, that ye have directiones from me to fyre it. Onlie, ye may say that ye have warrand to destroy it, and that to mak the work short, ye will fyre it.

ARGYLL."

This plundering of the Airlie lands was a forecast of the still more drastic measure that was soon to follow. Within six months an Act was passed by the Committee of War which met at Forfar on 28th December, 1640, to the effect that—

"The Committee of Estates commission the Earl of Kinghorne to levy the rents of the estates of James, Earl of Airlie and

James, Lord Ogilvy, his son : and to allocate a third thereof for the maintenance of the Countess of Airlie and her family ; another third for the maintenance of Lady Ogilvy and her children ; and to secure the rest for the use of the public and for payment to Covenanters of the annuals of their true and just debts."

The Earl of Airlie, when the news reached him in England and he heard from Lord Ogilvy the story of the burning of his castles and the devastation of his lands, was very wrathful. He was not the type of man to take such treatment in a humble and submissive spirit, and that he vowed vengeance on "the fause Argyll" was only what might be expected, and quite in keeping with his strong and resolute character. If he did not immediately return to Scotland, it was for the reason that he had engaged with Charles I. to remain for the time in command of the royal cavalry in view of the unsettled state of both countries. But he did not allow the depredations of the Earl of Argyll to go by default. The following petition to His Majesty shows at once the temper of Lord Airlie and the extent of the destruction wrought by the Earl of Argyll :

"TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTIE

The Humble Petition of the Earl of Airlie Humbly Sheweth :

1. That whereas your Majestie's Petitioner having reteired himself to England in the beginning of Appryll 1640, in his absence ane armie of six thousand hilande men conducted by ye Earle of Argyll in hostile manner entered upon the lands of Lentrathin, Elith, Glenilay, and Cortaquhy pertaining to your Petitioner, where, making their abode from ye eight of July to ye twentie day of ye same month, thay plundered and spoyled all manner of guids belonging to your Petitioner and to his Tenants ; brunt and demolished most of thair houses whairbe his Tenants ar ruined and his lands so waisted, yat for many yeirs to cum thay sall not be able to yield anie considerabill profeit. Wheirin your Petitioner is damnified in ye saume of thrie thousand poundes.

2. Thoïs barbarous hilandmen, at that samyn tyme, did burne your Petitioner his duelling houses of Airlie and Forther, and plundered away all ye guids which war thairin ; Cutted and

destroyed his planted tries and growing wood, whairin your Petitioner is also damnified in ye saume of twa thousand eight hundreth poundes.

3. Thair wes a garrisone of twa hundreth hilandmen, no as inhumane as ye former, whoe by express mandate from ye Earle of Argyll entered ye second tyme into ye lands of Lentrathin and Glenilay, pertaining to your Petitioner about the first day of July 1640, and remained thair to the fyftein day of September violently spoylling all manner of guidis, whairby your Petitioner his lands ar damnified in the soume of ane thousand poundes.

4. Your Petitioner is michtie prejudged having his lands and Tenants within the Sherifedom of Banf spoylled wherein he is damnified eight hundreth poundes.

5. Your Petitioner hes lands and Tenants being so ruined and wysted in manner abone wrettin, thay for mony yeires to cum sall nocht be able to pay their accustomet dewes whairby your Petitioner will be so michtilie prejudged for a lang tyme to cum yat now he can not be gotten to condescend certainlie upon yat future damage, bot remits the samme to your Majestie's consideratioune.

6. Thay have intrometed with ye revenue belonging to your Petitioner so yat he has resaved no pairt yerof thir 14 months bygane, altho he hes lyved hair in Ingland during all yat tyme with no small chairges, the damage whairof is so gryt, and your Petitioner so far removed and secluded from furth knowledge of ye trew stait of hes owin affaires yat for ye present he can not particularlie condensid upon yat extreme loss. Their ar ye grevancis and sufferings of your Petitioner ye lyk whairof in sic a miserie few of your Majestie's subjects has susteined, which, according to your Royal word and promises, he humblie supplicats may be redressit and his gryt loses repaired which for your Majestie's caus he hes suffered."

There is nothing to show in what spirit Charles received the Earl of Airlie's petition, or its effect. But if he felt constrained to ventilate his grievances and tabulate his losses in the hope of receiving redress, the Earl of Argyll was busily employed in seeking to secure himself against any evil consequences. Having discharged his Commission of "Fire and Sword" in the ruthless manner described, he seems to have been smitten with qualms of conscience on the dastardly nature of the task he had himself been chiefly instrumental in initiating.

He may perhaps have thought in the cool moments of reflection, when his feudal hatred had abated, that he had gone too far and had been over-vindictive. Or, it may have been that the moderate section of the Covenant Lords, among whom the Earl of Airlie had many friends, had remonstrated with him on the wholesale destruction of property and the indiscriminate plunder of so many innocent and unoffending people whose only fault could be that they were vassals of the Airlie lands. Be this as it may, he seems to have been uneasy in his mind over the scene of desolation which resulted from his raid on the territories of one who was known to be his personal enemy, but who was held in high esteem as an upright and honourable member of the nobility. From whichever cause, the Earl of Argyll, in characteristic fashion, took immediate steps to cover the trail he had left behind him, in the hope of saving himself from any evil consequences that might arise on account of his action. At the first meeting of the Convention of Estates, after the burning of the castles, he proposed in Parliament, and indeed carried through, an Act of indemnity, which he titled "An Act of Ratificatioune and Exoneratioune in favoure of the Earl of Argyll," the terms of which give a fairly comprehensive idea of the ruthless spirit in which he prosecuted his commission. By this Act he was indemnified

"for any violence whatsoever done to the liberty of the subject, or freedom taken with their property, houses or Castles, for burning the same or putting fire thereto, or otherwise destroying the same howsoever; or putting whatsoever person or persons to torture or question, or of putting any person or persons to death, at any time betwixt the 18th. day of June 1640 and the said 2nd. day of August thereafter."

On the passing of this Act, he may have considered himself safe from harm, absolved from the evils he had committed—and, of course, so he was for the time being and as far as law was concerned; but the day of vengeance came when he suffered fourfold the destruction of the Airlie lands and Castles; and, what must have been still

more galling in the extreme hour of his fate—and the possibility of this would never enter into his calculation at the time—that in less than one and twenty years when he stood charged with the crime of high treason, one of the fourteen articles of the indictment which brought his head to the block was the burning of Airlie Castle.



PART III  
CORTACHY



## JAMES, FIRST EARL OF AIRLIE

IN 1625, with the view of consolidating his lands and making them more compact, and having sold Farnell, Pittendreich, and Bolshan, the Earl of Airlie purchased Cortachy, which included the two Glens of Clova and Prosen, a typical Highland property.

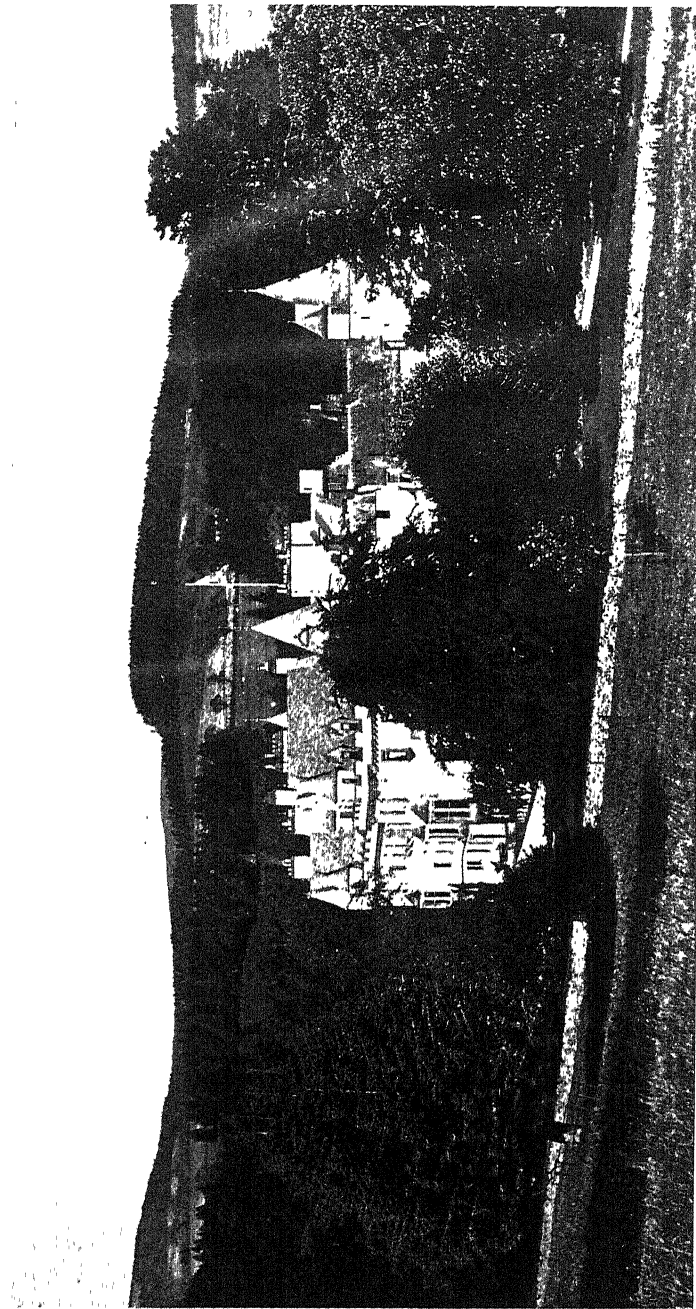
“ A land of brown heath and shaggy wood,  
A land of the mountain and the flood.”

“ The King’s Barony of Cortachy ” had been for a long time in the possession of the Ogilvys. Originally the property of the Crown, it was a royal hunting forest and a favourite field of sport in the days when Robert the Bruce was King. On this account it was called “ the King’s Barony.” A grant of Cortachy was made in 1319 by Robert the Bruce to Jean Monteith, daughter of Sir John Monteith, who afterwards was married to the Earl of Strathearn. For fifty years it remained in the Strathearn family, when it passed to the Earl of Douglas, and on the resignation of it, in 1409, by Archibald, Earl of Douglas, it was granted by Robert, Duke of Albany, then Regent of Scotland, to his brother, Walter Stewart, Earl of Atholl and Caithness, and Lord of Brechin. Cortachy first came into the possession of the Ogilvy family in 1473, when a Charter of these lands was granted by King James II. in favour of Sir Walter Ogilvy of Oures, in the Mearns, a nephew of Sir Walter Ogilvy, the ancestor of the Airlie family, who, by his marriage in 1489 to Margaret, eldest daughter of Walter Fenton of Baikie, inherited the lands of Beaufort. The grant to Sir Walter Ogilvy, however, was “ revoked and annulled,” because he “ payed not the composition thereof.” The property was held “ blench for a reid roiss at St. John’s day; and for payment to the Chaplaines and youths at the Kirk of Brechin, and of St.

Marie Kirk at Killmoir besyde Brechin, of ye yearly rents due to them out of saidis landis." Through default of payment, Sir Walter forfeited the lands of Cortachy which were given to "Thomas Ogilvy of Clova for services" on the above-mentioned terms. Thomas Ogilvy was of the House of Inverquharity, and he and his descendants continued in possession, one generation after another, till 1625, when Sir David Ogilvy, who had no heir male, with the view of making provision for his daughters, sold the barony to the Earl of Airlie.

Place-names in ancient times were usually descriptive of the physical features of the property. The original name Quartachie is supposed to be derived from the Gaelic word "quartaich," which means "enclosed" or "surrounded." If applied to the estate as a whole, or especially to that portion of it on which the Castle stands and which has given the name, this is an accurate description. It is a peninsula, bounded by the South Esk on the north and east, and by the Prosen on the south, which unite their waters at its extreme point, thus making a "quartaich," or enclosure.

The Castle of Cortachy is beautifully situated on a level plateau, a short distance from the River South Esk. If its natural surroundings are not of the massive type of grandeur that makes Airlie Castle so charming and picturesque, Cortachy has a romantic beauty of its own; and where Nature has been sparing of its bounty, art has handsomely contributed to embellish the scene. The original part of the Castle, which was used as a seasonal Hunting-Lodge, though of considerable size, appears to have been a plain, unimposing building, and is of unknown antiquity. The likelihood is that it was built either by the Earl of Strathearn or the Earl of Douglas about the middle of the fourteenth century. The present Castle is a noble building worthy of the House of Airlie. Several additions have been made to the original structure from time to time, but in each of these regard has been observed to uniformity of architectural design, and though not all of one order, they harmonise in a wonderful degree, the Scottish baronial style pre-



*Valentine & Sons, Dundee*

CORTACHY CASTLE.



dominating. On the south-west of the Castle the ground rises to a height of about two hundred feet above the level of the river, while to the west there is a stretch of level lawn studded over with ornamental trees, many of which are fine specimens of foreign novelties, and nearly all associated with the names of distinguished visitors. There is a profusion of shrubs of nearly every description, whose rich and variegated bloom make the "garden of friendship" a garden of delight.

Charles I., while he had grievously offended the Scots, had also turned large sections of the people of England against his rule. The execution of his favourite, the Earl of Strafford, and the imprisonment of Laud, his chief adviser, made him turn longing eyes to his native country, if perchance he might "make friends with the mammon of unrighteousness." There were elements in Scotland, which, if skilfully directed, he thought might be turned to good account. There was a cleavage in the ranks. Two parties stood and acted apart. One was known as "the Incendiaries," the other as "the Plotters." The latter, inasmuch as its leader, the Earl of Montrose, one of the most forcible characters of his age, was the more dangerous, as it was for Charles, should he gain its confidence, the more hopeful. In this posture of affairs, His Majesty signified his intention of visiting Scotland with the desire to meet the Estates of Parliament "to perfect whatever he had promised" in the Treaty of Duns. Accompanied by the Earl of Airlie and a number of choice spirits, he set out for his northern kingdom and arrived in Edinburgh on 14th August, 1641, taking up his residence in Holyrood House. During the sitting of Parliament an Act was passed, which proves that Charles must have been in a very chastened mood, to the effect that only those were eligible to sit in the Parliament who had subscribed the Covenant. The King signified his approval. A number of noblemen openly and vigorously dissented and protested, the chief of whom were the Duke of Lennox, the Marquis of Hamilton, and the Earls of Airlie, Annandale, Carnwath, Kinnoull, Morton, and Roxburgh, who were threatened

with imprisonment if they did not comply with the terms of the Act; and it was only on a personal appeal by Charles for the sake of harmony and good-fellowship that they were prevailed upon to acknowledge the Covenant. It must have been with a wry face and a trembling hand that Lord Airlie subscribed the deed which he so heartily disapproved.

When Charles I., on 18th November, 1641, left Edinburgh for the south, the Earl of Airlie travelled north to his devastated lands and ruined castles, and arrived at Cortachy, the only home now left to him. He had signed the Covenant, it is true, against his will and in opposition to his better judgment, but it had this advantage—that in doing so he was allowed to return to his own country unmolested. If, however, the now Marquis of Argyll cherished the hope that the changed circumstances might possibly obliterate the past, he was doomed to the saddest disappointment of his life. For the next two years the Earl of Airlie lived quietly at Cortachy Castle. He stayed mostly at home, but, as subsequent events prove, he was “nursing his wrath to keep it warm.” A song written at this period aptly describes the feeling that was slumbering within him and only awaiting the opportunity to break forth in a flame of hot revenge :

“O ken ye ought o’ gude Lochiel,  
Or ken ye ought o’ Airly?  
They’ve buckled on their harnessing,  
And aff and awa’ wi’ Charlie.  
‘Bring here to me,’ quo’ the hie Argyll,  
‘My bands i’ the morning early;  
We’ll raise a lowe sall glint to heav’n  
I’ the dwelling o’ young Lord Airly.’

‘What lowe is yon,’ quo’ the gude Lochiel,  
‘Whilk risis i’ the sun sae early?’  
‘By the God o’ my kin,’ quo’ the young Ogilvy,  
‘It’s my ain bonnie hame o’ Airly.’  
‘Put up your sword,’ quo’ the gude Lochiel.  
And ‘Put it up,’ quo’ Charlie;  
‘We’ll raise sic a lowe roond the fause Argyll,  
And licht it wi’ a spunk frae Airly.’

' It is na my ha' nor my land a' reft,  
 That reddens my cheek sae sairly ;  
 But the mither and bairnies sweet I left,  
 To smoor i' the reek o' Airly.  
 O dule to thee, thou fause Argyll !  
 For this it rues me sairly ;  
 Thou'st been thy King and thy country's foe,  
 From Lochy's day to Airly.' "

The Earl of Airlie attended the sittings of the Covenanted Parliament of 1643, but took little part in the business. He was in it but not of it. If, in answer to His Majesty's appeal, he had yielded to acknowledge the Covenant as the existing authority, he had not changed his views on the broad questions of Church polity or the royal prerogative. This attitude of his he did not in the least conceal; it was well enough known that if he were silent, he was also sullen. It was remarked by many that during the Session of this Parliament he and his kinsman, the now Marquis of Montrose, were much together and held frequent intercourse. While this comradeship in ordinary circumstances might have been readily explained on the strength of the fact that, notwithstanding the disparity of their years, they were cousins—their mothers being sisters—in the then state of parties there was great room for suspicion; for, while the attitude of the Earl of Airlie was known, that of the Marquis of Montrose was doubtful. As the latter soon emerged from his Castle of Doubt and with Lord Airlie sent the flame of civil war throughout the country, it will be advisable to state a few of the facts which led them to unite their strength and genius in a crusade of fire and sword. If Charles I. had in a measure succeeded in mollifying the feelings of his Scottish subjects for the time by his series of concessions and by his amiability of temper, he found on his return to London that the English Parliament had developed an intractable mood, and, instead of relaxing their efforts for the redress of grievances, had actually resolved to deprive him of that arbitrary power which he had been educated to consider the Constitutional privilege of the Sovereign. There was

immediately submitted to him a remonstrance in which every act since his accession was specified and branded as an infringement of the liberties of the people. Demand was made upon demand in the most hostile and incriminating spirit, while the inhabitants of the Metropolis manifested such cold regard for his person that, alarmed for himself and his family, he adopted the hasty and fatal purpose of leaving Whitehall for the provinces, and arrived at York about the middle of March, 1642. The following month an incident occurred which opened his eyes to the hostile designs of Parliament and gave him good reason to apprehend that if he were to maintain his prerogative it could only be by the power of the sword. The magazines at Hull were amply supplied with military stores, and, as was most natural, Charles was solicitous of securing them for his army; but when he approached the town, the Governor, Sir John Hotham, refused to admit him, and justified his conduct by the instructions he had received from Parliament. This may be considered the first indication of resistance, and it determined the King to raise the Royal Standard and throw down the gage of battle.

While these events were passing in England, it became apparent that in Scotland there would be little disposition on the part of the Covenanting Lords to assist Charles; on the contrary, they showed a ready inclination to support his enemies. By a strange inconsistency, they proposed to pursue a course which they had themselves reprobated. Having opposed Episcopacy in Scotland on the ground that it was alien to the religious sentiment of the nation, they now adventured to impose the Presbyterian System on the English people, who revered the Episcopal form of government and worship. Charles now showed the utmost solicitude to gain the support of the Scottish people, while the English Parliament openly competed with him for their co-operation. There was at first an inclination on the part of the Marquis of Argyll, the avowed leader of the Covenanters, to befriend the Court and interpose his mediation between the King and the English Parliament; but as the

Ministers at once sounded an alarm that the Good Cause was in danger, he speedily beat a retreat. A meeting of the General Assembly was held at which a deputation of the English Parliament was present, whose deliberations resulted in the adoption of what was entitled the "Solemn League and Covenant," the effect of which was to unite the two nations in one great struggle against the royal prerogative. Many who had signed the "National League and Covenant" refused to subscribe the new bond. Of these, the most prominent was the Marquis of Montrose, and needless to say the Earl of Airlie scorned the suggestion of it; and as if to hasten a crisis, the Committee of Estates published an order commanding all the Lords of Council to take the Covenant by 2nd November, 1643, failing which they should be punished as enemies to religion. From this period there was a deliberate split in the ranks, the one party joining the English Parliamentarians, while the other attached themselves to the interest of the King.

Among the first to subscribe the "National League and Covenant" was James Graham, then Earl of Montrose, at the age of twenty-six, in the flower of his manhood, richly endowed with brilliant intellectual gifts, a poet and a scholar, of great dexterity of mind, superlative courage, and glowing with the ambition which prompts to great actions. Various motives have been alleged for his joining the Covenanters and also for his leaving them. In respect to the former, it was said that the coldness of his reception by Charles I. when, on his return from foreign travel, he presented himself at Court to pay his duty to the Sovereign, was chiefly instrumental in inducing him to join the Covenant. From all accounts the royal rebuff was sufficient to damp the spirit of the most ardent loyalist, but this does not fully account for the attitude he adopted. Unlike the Earl of Airlie, who was a Royalist pure and simple, and a strenuous supporter of the prerogative of the Sovereign, the Marquis of Montrose was a Royalist on Constitutional grounds. The Covenant appealed to him, because it was the assertion of civil and religious liberty. He

was not an enemy of Charles, but was opposed to his autocratic policy. Again, the chief cause of his defection from the Covenant was said to be for the most part on personal grounds, that, notwithstanding the conspicuous service he had rendered to the Covenant cause, he had been mortified to see the Marquis of Argyll, the hereditary enemy of his House, preferred to himself in the leadership of the party. The plain and obvious fact, however, was that the selfsame motive which led him to adopt the Covenant constrained him to leave it. He was loyal to the Covenant so long as the Covenanters were true to themselves. But when the Covenanting Lords entered into the "Solemn League and Covenant" with the English Parliamentarians, who were avowedly unfriendly to Charles, he departed from their counsels. Besides, chiefly through the instrumentality of the Earl of Airlie, who had formed a high opinion of the capabilities and loyalty of his cousin, any coldness that may have existed between him and the King had been removed. The effect of this was manifest on the occasion of Charles's visit to Edinburgh in 1641, when His Majesty paid marked deference to him; and later, at Berwick, when there was a frank exchange of opinions and an understanding was reached.

The Lords of the Covenant, by agreeing to support the Parliament of England, provoked a crisis of great magnitude and bitterness. In his opposition to the proposition, the Marquis of Montrose declared that he was still a Covenanter, but would never be a traitor. And this attitude, in view of the spirit and intention of the "Solemn League and Covenant," is easily understandable and quite consistent. On the Covenanters deciding to send auxiliary forces into England, he saw that civil war was inevitable. If he were to act it must be with authority. So he immediately repaired to Oxford, where he submitted his proposals to Charles. Fortune favoured him. The Marquis of Hamilton, who from the first had poisoned the mind of Charles against him, had at length been found out and removed, and the King turned to the Marquis of Montrose for the help he had so ardently

proffered. Receiving the royal commission as Lieutenant-General of the Royal Forces in Scotland, he left Oxford for the north in the middle of February, 1643. On Charles thus deciding to engage the help of his loyal subjects in Scotland, he immediately despatched the following letter to the Earl of Airlie, which was duly delivered by special messenger at Cortachy Castle :

“ ERLY,

I have soe firme a perswation of your constant fidelitie and good affectione to my service that, notwithstanding the power and pravalence of disloyaltie raging there against all that are faithfull to me, I make noe questione but y<sup>t</sup> Montrose and Ogilvy with the rest of those Lords whoe are now gone home to engage in my service will find an entire concurrence from you with all your power and interests in those services so neerly concerning me which shall be imparted unto you by Montrose; and as I doe principallie relay upone yow soe I wold have you be most confident of my resolutiones when ever God shall enable me to show to yow and all ye world that I know how to reward such a faithfull servant. Resting—

Your most assured freinde,

CHARLES R.

OXFORD,

*This 14th Feb<sup>r</sup>. 1643.”*

The Earl of Airlie, now nearing his sixtieth year—an age when most men prefer the comfort of home to the risks and adventures of war—like the old war-horse that at once falls into parade on hearing the sound of martial music, immediately donned his coat of mail on the scent of battle and stood ready to arms at the call of the King. Lord Ogilvy was already by the side of the Marquis of Montrose as his Chief Lieutenant; his other two sons, Sir Thomas and Sir David Ogilvy, with equal alacrity, began a recruiting campaign over the Ogilvy lands, and by the time the Royal Standard was raised led a strong body of horsemen to join the Royalist army in that series of battles which struck terror into the heart of Scotland. By 4th September, 1644, when the Marquis of Montrose, after his victory at Tibbermuir, swept along the Braes of Angus on his way to the Graham country in the Mearns, in search of recruits, he paid a visit to Cortachy Castle

as a half-way house, where he was certain to receive an abundant hospitality and a hearty welcome. This visit was of brief duration, as on his arrival intelligence reached him that the Covenanting army, under Lord Balfour of Burleigh, was stationed at Aberdeen, and this determined his movements. The Earl of Airlie was appointed to command the cavalry with Sir William Rollo as his Chief Lieutenant. The little army set out for the Granite City, and, avoiding the main roads, kept by the foothills most of the way, crossing the Dee at Banchory, and by 12th September arrived within two miles of Aberdeen, where the Covenanting army lay encamped. No time was lost. On the morning of the following day the Royalist force was drawn up for battle, and immediately began to attack. It was well armed and clothed, and ammunition was plentiful; while in spirit and courage it stood high and its discipline was perfect. Inferior in numbers to the army of the Covenant, especially in horse, the genius of its leaders made more than good the deficiency. With only forty-four mounted Ogilvys, the Earl of Airlie dexterously intermingled with them some of the musketeers—a novelty which so disconcerted the enemy, that in the general charge, when the whole force swept forward, horse and foot, the Covenanters were confused by this innovation, panic ensued, and the army broke and fled. The Royalists pursued the fleeing soldiers of the Covenant into the city and through the streets. Many citizens, it is said, who were not of Lord Balfour's army and indeed had no sympathy with the Covenant, fell before the infuriated Irish, who at once began to sack and plunder the city as a legitimate reward of victory.

This was a timely triumph, as immediately on the back of it news reached the Marquis of Montrose that his great antagonist the Marquis of Argyll, with a strong army, was making hot haste through the Mearns to the assistance of the Covenanters, and two days later he entered the city only to learn that the enemy had escaped him and was encamped in the valley of the Don. The Marquis of Montrose and the Marquis of Argyll had long

been rivals. It had been said of them that they were like Cæsar and Pompey : the one could not bear an equal and the other would have no superior. Again, the Campbells and the Ogilvys had long been enemies, and the Earl of Airlie had yet to wreak his vengeance on " Archibald the Grim " for the burning of his castles and the devastation of his lands. The two Houses of Graham and Ogilvy were thus united by more than the ties of blood—by the bonds of an implacable feeling of revenge. On the present occasion, however, the odds were greatly in favour of the Marquis of Argyll, who, on learning that his army together with the reunited force of Lord Balfour greatly exceeded that at the disposal of the Royalist leader, and taking courage, pursued his enemy and for once found his dexterous foe in a tight corner. Out-numbered by two to one, the King's Lieutenant dared not risk a battle on the open ground, so by " strange coursing " he led the Covenanters a weary chase backwards and forwards throughout the Grampians, till at last he reached Fyvie Castle, where he rested his troops. But now a critical situation faced the Royalists. The Marquis of Montrose had depleted his army by sending a number of his followers to recruit in the west, while there was a shortage of ammunition. The Marquis of Argyll was close upon his heels, while on the opposite bank of the Spey the men of Moray stood to arms ready to oppose his passage. Thus hemmed in, the Royalists took the only course open to them and made good their escape. Hiding their cannon in a bog, and destroying all their heavy baggage, they took to the hills and marched by moorland roads to Balvenie, where a council of war was held.

A crisis in the fortunes of the Royalists had come. It was now the middle of November. The rains of autumn were already turning into the snows of an early and a severe winter, which lay deep upon the hills and wreathed in the valleys. The number of the army, never numerically strong but always brave and resolute, was now greatly diminished. After the sack of Aberdeen, as was their wont, many of the Highlanders had returned

to their homes to deposit their booty, and no persuasion would stay them. Others had left because of the inclemency of the weather, but promising to return in the spring. Most of the leaders discovered some pressing business which brooked no delay; but, as a matter of fact, rode post-haste to Edinburgh and made their peace with the Covenant Lords. Indeed, only the Earl of Airlie and his two sons, Sir Thomas and Sir David Ogilvy, remained in the counsels of the Marquis of Montrose. Thus, with a mere handful of troops, it was decided to march south through the Badenoch passes to Blair Atholl. Likewise, the Marquis of Argyll turned from a pursuit for which he had no heart, and also to escape the rigours of a winter campaign, travelled south through the Lowland country and encamped at Dunkeld, whence, as alleged by his contemporaries, to avoid the perils of war, he immediately proceeded to Edinburgh, and resigning his commission to the Estates, retired to his strong Castle of Inverary.

The road into the Lowlands lay open. Now was the time for the King's Lieutenant to put in practice the plan which he had always had in view, and which he had promised to Charles—to raise such a force as would compel the Covenanting army in England to recross the Border and in this way relieve the situation of His Majesty. There was every hope that this would be effected; for at Blair Atholl the fortunes of war took a new and a favourable turn. The Marquis of Montrose and the Earl of Airlie soon found their numbers greatly augmented, and in addition to a great influx of the Ogilvy Clan, there were considerable levies from the clans of the west. The MacDonalds of Glengarry, Keppoch, and Clanranald; the MacLeans of Morven and Mull; the Stewarts of Appin; the Farquharsons of Braemar; and the Camerons of Lochaber—all flocked to the Royal Standard. Like the two leaders, they were all King's men; but it was not in the first instance in the King's cause that they had rallied for the fight. Each had a cause of his own to uphold, and his own wrongs to avenge; but, as it happened, the cause of each was the

same and the wrongs were similar—an inveterate hatred of the Marquis of Argyll and a sworn determination on the oath of the Book to avenge on the first favourable opportunity his many acts of tyranny and oppression.

While the mind of the Marquis of Montrose was bent on a Lowland campaign as the prudent course to adopt in mid-winter, the western chiefs would hear of nothing but an immediate attack upon their great enemy. In these divided counsels, the matter was referred to the judgment of the Earl of Airlie. Like his cousin, he knew well the difficulties of an invasion of Argyleshire in the month of December; but, like the western chiefs, he had an old score to pay off with the Marquis of Argyll for the burning of his castles and the devastation of his lands. For just such a chance as this had he not lived since then! Such an opportunity as this to let the ancient enemy of his House feel the weight of his wrath might not come his way again. The day for which he had longed had at last dawned, and it seemed to him as if the wheel of fortune had turned in his favour and had given him the desire of his heart. It was too good to let slip. If he had one regret, it was that Lord Ogilvy, who had borne the brunt of the mad pillage of his castles and lands, was now languishing in the Tolbooth, and would thus be deprived of his share in this day of vengeance. The weight of his influence was thrown into the scale in favour of an invasion of the Campbell country; and on this bold enterprise it was decided.

The noble Marquis of Argyll made the proud boast that the seat of his authority at the head of Loch Fyne was secure against invasion. Strategically, it had every possible advantage. Protected on the west by a broad expanse of sea that was constantly patrolled by a small fleet of armed vessels; on the south by the water of Loch Long, at the mouth of which the Castle of Dunoon on its lofty settlement stood sentry; while on the north and to the east there was a chain of high mountains and difficult passes, where no man but a Campbell could travel except by permission of the reigning chief—Inverary Castle was by most people regarded as im-

pregnable. A hazardous undertaking at any time, it looked wellnigh an impossible venture in mid-winter. But while the leader of the Covenant Lords was snugly housed in this fancied security, in the most perfect confidence that no enemy of his could approach him, he was startled to learn, and the knowledge of it drove him frantic, that his two great antagonists, wading through drifts of snow, scaling precipices, and traversing the mountain paths which he vainly believed only the Stodhirds knew, had actually forced an entry into Argyleshire, and were laying it waste with fire and sword. This was a rude awakening for "Archibald the Grim."

Leaving Blair Atholl on 13th December, 1644, the army of invasion, aglow with the lust of vengeance, marched past the western end of Loch Tummel, through the pass above Weem; along the banks of Tay; through Glen Dochart, and descended into the valley of Glen Orchy. In this march the invaders divided into three bands so that nothing might escape them. It was ruthless warfare, such as the Marquis of Argyll had waged in the summer of 1640 in the Ogilvy lands: the Campbells capable of bearing arms were either slaughtered or driven to the hills, only the women and children were spared; while the cattle were driven off, and every house and cottage burnt. It was a war of vengeance. The divided forces, after devastating the country, united near the head of Glen Dochart for a supreme effort at Inverary. But the noble Marquis of Argyll did not await the arrival of the enemy. On hearing that they had entered the Glen at the head of Loch Fyne, he went on board a fishing-boat, and, leaving his clansmen to their fate, sped with all possible haste to the quiet shelter of Roseneath. As might be expected, the cowardly flight of their chief took all heart out of his followers, who made no resistance to the invaders, who at once began to satiate their ancient grudges by the plunder of Inverary. The happy warriors, flushed with victory, enjoyed to their heart's content the great variety of fare which the town provided, while the merchants either hid in cellars or fled to the hills. Having exhausted all the available

provisions and seeing no chance of a pitched battle, the conquerors, in the belief that they had struck an effective blow at the influence of the Marquis of Argyll, withdrew towards Inverness for the purpose of organising a general muster of the clans.

While the Royalists were pursuing this purpose, the Chief of all the Campbells opened up communication with the Estates in Edinburgh for the despatch of necessary forces, while he concurrently called back the Covenant army in Ireland. By these movements he was able, by the end of January, 1645, to assemble a considerable force which might dispute the ground with the invader. At Fort Augustus, near the head of Loch Ness, the Royalists received intelligence that this army was being mustered at Inverlochy. They at once decided not to await its coming, but set out to meet it; and, returning through Glen Roy by a succession of most difficult mountain passes covered with snow, came out at the bend of Loch Eil within sight of the forces of the Covenant. The combatants lay all night on their arms. After a quick march of thirteen miles through difficult country, the King's men were not only tired but hungry, while the store of provisions was reduced to the lowest ebb; so much was this the case that the Marquis of Montrose and the Earl of Airlie were constrained to make their evening repast of a little oatmeal steeped in water from a neighbouring burn, which they ate with their dirks. But if the supply of food was low, the spirit of the men was high. Notwithstanding the fact that an Act of Attainder had passed through the Estates of Parliament a month before—on 2nd January, 1645—whereby James Graham, Marquis of Montrose, and James Ogilvy, Earl of Airlie, were attainted in their honours, and their estates forfeited, the Earl-Marischal being empowered to collect the rents of the Airlie estates; the two heroes of the campaign, if knowledge of this fresh act of vindictiveness had reached them, were in no way disconcerted, but, if anything, were all the more determined by it to inflict a crushing defeat upon the leader of the Covenant in his own dominions.

The Castle of Inverlochy, as the ruin of it shows, stood at the junction of Loch Eil and Loch Linnhe, beneath the shadow of Ben Nevis. The Covenanting army occupied the plain between the mountain and the shore—a critical situation should they be hard pressed, and in the case of defeat there was left no way of escape. To the shrewd mind of the King's Lieutenant this weakness would appear at a glance, and he was quick to take advantage of it. At daybreak on 2nd February, 1645, the Royalists opened their attack. Facing them in the centre were the Campbells, while the Lowland regiments were on either wing. The first movement was on the part of the little troop of horse under the command of Sir Thomas Ogilvy, which charged the Lowland wing on the left, but soon the whole army was in motion "to push of pike and dint of sword." So fierce was the attack of the horsemen, interspersed with musketeers, that the Lowlanders, having discharged their muskets, fled the field. The Campbells, though deserted by the wings, fought bravely in the centre, supporting the honour of their clan with great courage as became the traditions of their race, knowing only too well that they had before them their hereditary foes—the Ogilvys, the Grahams, the MacDonalds, the MacLeans, the Camerons, and the Farquharsons—from whom they could hold out no hope of mercy; it was for them a stern struggle, to win or die. So they fought bravely, and only when they were altogether exposed by the Lowlanders' flight did they break and flee. Some plunged into the Loch and swam for dear life. Others fled along the shore and were cut down by the Ogilvy horsemen. Quarter was given to the Lowland troops, but the Campbells were shown no mercy, and all who were not fleet of foot to make good their escape were mercilessly slaughtered. The Marquis of Argyll, who, by all the rules of war, should have been at the head of his devoted clansmen, viewed the battle from his galley, which lay at anchor in the centre of the Loch, and, on seeing that all was lost, hoisted his sails and made with all possible speed for the opposite shore, regardless of his drowning clansmen. At least fifteen hundred of

the Covenanting army fell in the battle and pursuit; among these being forty of the Campbell Barons. It is almost incredible, but it has been vouched for, that in such a scene of carnage only four of the Royalists perished, while there were two hundred wounded. One of these was Sir Thomas Ogilvy, the Earl of Airlie's second son, who, early in the charge, was mortally wounded and died two days after the battle.

Inverlochy was a great and resounding victory for the Royalists. By it the power of the Marquis of Argyll in the Highlands was broken, and for long years after the mighty name of Campbell was but a shadow of its former greatness. Like the other chiefs, the Earl of Airlie, notwithstanding the loss of his son, had considerably sweetened his life by thus having wreaked his vengeance on the ancient enemy of his House. The burning of his castles and the devastation of his lands had now been requited and his honour redeemed.

On 8th February, 1645, six days after the battle, the Convention of Estates met in Edinburgh, when it was reported to the House "that they find the summons of high treason executed against James, Earl of Montrose; James, Earl of Airlie, and his two sons, Sir Thomas and Sir David Ogilvy." If the ban of Parliament ever reached them, it was unheeded. Three weeks later, on 1st March, 1645—an attempt, perhaps, to sow discord in the ranks and to alienate, if possible, the Earl of Airlie from the Royalist movement—the Estates caused to be published the following proclamation that

"James, Earl of Airlie, Sir Thomas and Sir David Ogilvy, his sons, should be set at liberty from the charge of high treason provided that they discontinue their rebellious conduct, and each of them find security for their behaviour and compearance in the sum of £1000 a piece."

Though unknown to the Estates of Parliament, Sir Thomas Ogilvy, in life much too loyal to his ideal to be tempted from what he considered the path of duty, was now beyond the reach of all earthly subterfuge, while the Earl of Airlie and Sir David Ogilvy were too much devoted to the royal cause to be seduced from their

allegiance by such a transparent bribe. The cunning of the Marquis of Argyll was deep, but in this case it was clumsy, and it was in vain that the net was spread in the sight of two such brave warriors and loyal adherents of Charles I.

The Earl of Airlie at his time of life had borne the burden and fatigue of the campaign with remarkable courage and fortitude; but strong and energetic as he was, the long and swift marches through deep snow and over mountain passes, with constant exposure night and day during the rigour of a severe winter, began to tell on his physical resources. There is little wonder that he felt a growing sensibility to over-exertion. The senior of his cousin by six and twenty years, he had kept pace with him in his rapid and restless movements. He was seldom out of the saddle. Not infrequently he experienced the pinch of hunger; and for weeks he had slept mostly in the open. Besides, the death of his second son was a sore grief to him, while it was known to him that his eldest son and heir, Lord Ogilvy, now a prisoner in the Tolbooth on the charge of high treason, might any day forfeit his life. He was an ardent King's man, no doubt, and he was prepared to sacrifice much for his ideal and to maintain the traditions of his House; but, of course, endurance has its limits even to the strong and robust, and while strength of will may sustain, it cannot demand more than physical nature has to give. And so it was that early in March, after the victory of Inverlochy, when the Royalist army set out for the north over a difficult mountainous country, the Earl of Airlie was overtaken by a serious illness in the neighbourhood of Gight, and had to be conveyed to Huntly Castle, where his sister, Elizabeth, who was married to the Laird of Gight, resided. There for some weeks he was confined to bed by an intermittent fever, and not till the beginning of May was he able, by slow stages, to undertake the homeward journey to Cortachy.

He was thus with great reluctance constrained to fall out of the ranks for a time, but this, as his subsequent action proves, was only temporary. He missed the cam-

paign in the north. For two months he recruited, but so soon as he had regained his physical strength he began to recruit in a different fashion. He had vowed at all hazard to release Lord Ogilvy, who was now in greater peril than ever, and the King's Lieutenant was not slow in yielding him his support, so, by the middle of July, 1645, when the Royalist army, flushed with victory in the north, reached the neighbourhood of Kirriemuir, where it rested, the Marquis of Montrose and many of his coadjutors paid a visit to Cortachy Castle. This was more than a courtesy call. "Old Airlie," as he was familiarly but affectionately called in the Royalist army, had been the backbone of the movement. A strong man, with a strong will, who held his convictions strongly, he was bold, resolute, and courageous. His bravery was recognised and his wisdom was appreciated. His attitude, too, on the main question at issue was clear, definite, and perspicuous; and it was known that with him there was no half-way house to the complete reinstatement of His Majesty in his royal authority. The visit to Cortachy, therefore, took the form of a council of war. There, their plans for the future were discussed, the constitution of the force was debated, and measures were decided on to strengthen it for a descent into the Lowlands. The army was now numerically the largest that had yet taken the field, but it was deficient in horse. This arm was now to be strengthened. There was urgent need for expedition, for the enemy was not far distant. Owing to the plague having broken out in Edinburgh, the Convention of Estates had removed to Stirling; and for the same reason had pushed on to Perth, where an army was assembled. The Marquis of Argyll, who, if timid in war, was ever bold in the Council Chamber, had again his hand upon the helm of State, and was steering the ship in the direction of his own policy and purpose. On hearing this, the Royalists determined to march to Dunkeld at once, and there watch the movements of the enemy. A week later the Earl of Airlie was in the saddle again and followed with eighty well-mounted Ogilvys from the Braes of Angus, which, with two hundred Gordon horse

and twenty mounted musketeers, made a welcome addition to the force.

Their repeated victories had given such lustre to their arms that the Convention of Estates, who had to keep up supplies to the auxiliary army in England, were now hard pressed to provide a force sufficient to meet these determined warriors of the King in Scotland. The Marquis of Montrose, when he sallied forth in the direction of Methven, learned from his scouts that the Convention of Estates, who had not as yet been able to assemble their full forces, had retired, on hearing of his approach, to a fortified camp at Kilgraston, near Bridge-of-Earn. The posture of affairs was critical for the Estates and problematical for the Royalists. The latter had swept the Highlands clean, while so far the army of the Covenant had only experienced defeat. If the Royalists could now carry their success into the Lowlands, they would be masters of the situation. It was worth bidding for. They had everything to gain, the Covenant nothing to lose. As things stood, it was a question of strategy. It was known that the army of the Estates was waiting for reinforcements from Fife and from the west country. There was thus the alternative of attacking the main army immediately before these levies should arrive; being, however, numerically superior and occupying a fortified position, there was the danger that while engaging it, the reinforcements might come upon the scene and take them on the flank: or the other course, of seeking out the approaching levies and dealing with them separately; but this also was exposed to the possibility of being attacked in the rear by the main army. After reviewing the whole situation it was strategically determined to make for ground of their own choosing, and thus draw the enemy from his base. This, in the end, proved to be not only the wise but successful policy. After a display of dexterous camouflage, by which the enemy was thoroughly deceived, the Royalists cut through Glenfarg, across country to Kinross, and, descending the Ochil chain of hills, entered the valley of the Devon, where stood the Marquis of Argyll's great Lowland fortress,

Castle Gloom, on the bank of the Water of Grief. The feudal hatred of the Earl of Airlie kindled into a suffused passion for revenge as the palatial structure broke upon his vision, and the memory of Airlie and Forther Castles was sufficient to determine the doom of the magnificent stronghold. It must have been with a feeling of delight that he applied the flaming torch which kindled into a raging furnace that great solitary fortalice whose majestic remains for many long years bore testimony to the inspiring spirit of vengeance which ruled the hearts of men in those far-back feudal times, and to the insatiable passion for destruction which was characteristic of both parties in the Civil Wars.

After ravaging this Campbell territory in a fashion similar to their invasion of Argyleshire, the Royalists marched westwards along the northern bank of the Forth, and crossed the river at the ford near its junction with the Teith. Here they rested for the night. By break of day they were again on the march in the direction of Glasgow, and by the evening of 14th August, 1645, encamped on an upland meadow about a mile north-east of the town of Kilsyth. Meantime the Covenanters, drawn from their fortified position at Kilgraston, had not lingered in pursuit. Joined by the Fife reinforcements, they marched through the valley of Strathearn, along the Allan Water, and were close on the heels of the enemy, arriving at Hollinbush, where they encamped a few hours later the same day.

Only two miles separated the combatants, so a clash of arms was imminent. For two reasons the Marquis of Montrose was in favour of an immediate attack. The news from England was far from being reassuring. The King's cause there was indeed desperate. Naseby had been lost. Wales was growing indifferent; Ireland was hopeless; the only chance of retrieving the position was for the Royalists in Scotland to effect a union with Charles. A swift and effective blow now might make this possible. Again, he had learned that the western levies were on the march to join the Covenanters, a contingent from Clydesdale being only twelve miles distant.

To attack before these reinforcements arrived was pre-eminently wise, and on this he determined. Baillie, Covenanting General, would have preferred to wait the arrival of the Clydesdale men, but in this he was overruled by the leaders of the Estates, who, seeing the enemy lying in an open space surrounded by hills, thought they held them at their mercy. So at daybreak on 15th August, 1645, a day that is memorable in the history of the Earl of Airlie as that on which he covered himself with glory, the Covenanting army opened an attack on an advanced post of the Royalists which occupied a strong position among cottages and enclosures. A party of soldiers under the command of Major Holden crept down from their ranks over the ridge and attacked this position. They were driven back with loss. But defensive action was not to the liking of the Highlander, and instantly, climbing the hill like deer, MacDonald's men pursued the retreating soldiers over the hill into the heart of the enemy. It was bravely done, but against orders. Baillie saw his opportunity, and at once made to improve it by occupying the height, but the Marquis of Montrose sent some of the Gordon infantry to anticipate it. They were in the act of doing so, when suddenly from behind the ridge there emerged a strong body of Covenant horse, who drove them back and were making to surround them. Some of the mounted Gordons, seeing the plight of their kinsmen, made a dash to rescue them, and they, too, were surrounded. The position was critical. The great body of the Royalist cavalry were on the point of discomfiture, and the issue of the battle hung on their extrication or their loss. At this crisis of his fortune, the Marquis of Montrose, risking everything, called upon the Earl of Airlie and his eighty Ogilvys to redeem the apparent disaster, saying to him :

“The eyes of the whole army are upon you, my Lord of Airlie. You are the only man to bring off those brave fellows and to redeem the error which their rash valour has occasioned.”

The brave horsemen from the Braes of Angus, headed by the chief of their clan, who himself knew no fear and was

ever at his best in the hour of danger, rode to the charge. It must have been a strange and weird spectacle. Stripped to their shirt, for the day was hot and they had to charge uphill, with broadswords flashing under a blazing midday sun, and with such hideous yells as of men possessed, the Ogilvys advanced to the charge with such extraordinary dash, striking hard and rushing every obstacle, that a panic ensued among the enemy, who took to the hills hotly pursued by the Ogilvys and the now rescued Gordons. This brave charge turned the tide of battle. The main column of the enemy, broken in two, was in hopeless confusion, and this was confounded when it was discovered that the Fife levies who were held in reserve had already taken flight. There was nothing left for the others who could do so but to follow at their heels, as the whole Royalist army had now gained the crest of the hill and were pursuing the enemy in all directions. For more than ten miles the pursuit was carried with indiscriminate slaughter, and more than five thousand soldiers of the Covenant were slain in the field and in the flight. The leaders of the Convention of Estates, who were well horsed, succeeded in making their escape. The Marquis of Argyll, stricken with fear, galloped all the way to Queensferry, where for the third time he took to a boat, and did not consider himself safe till he was well out to sea on his way to Berwick. Wishart, writing of this battle of Kilsyth, says :

“The Royalists lost only six men, three of them were gentlemen of the name of Ogilvy, who fell in the attack by Lord Airlie to which the victory was in great measure owing.”

“It was a braw day, Kilsyth,” said an aged Highlander who had been engaged in the attack, as, long years after, he gave an account of the battle to Sir John Sinclair of Longformacus, and described with savage glee his performances on the occasion—“It was a braw day, Kilsyth ; at every stroke of my sword I cut an ell o’ breeks.”

Nothing succeeds like success. The result of this crowning victory of Kilsyth was soon manifest throughout the country. Having scattered to the four winds the

army of the Covenant, from every quarter came in recruits to the Royal Standard. After the Battle of Aberdeen, when to avoid the superior forces of the enemy the Royalists had to take to the hills, all the leaders, with the exception of the Earl of Airlie and his two sons, left the Marquis of Montrose, but now that he was master of Scotland and a conquering hero, the Lowland lords and gentry from all quarters came trooping to his side. Glasgow welcomed the victors and promised them money. The western shires sent deputations to sue for pardon. By the time the little army reached Bothwell it had received a great accession to its strength. Within a week, in redemption of his promise, the Marquis of Montrose despatched a contingent to Linlithgow and Edinburgh to release the prisoners, of which the Tolbooth especially was crowded. Linlithgow gave up Lord Napier and Stirling of Keir. Edinburgh, when summoned in the King's name, made humble submission, abject and complete; disgorging a great number of noted prisoners of State, among whom were Lord Ogilvy, the Earl of Crawford, Lord Reay, Sir Alexander Irvine, and Wishart, the Chaplain. On the morning of 1st September, 1645, the heart of the Earl of Airlie was cheered when he beheld his gallant son and heir ride into the camp, looking little the worse for his twelve months' incarceration amid the perils of the plague.

If Kilsyth were a resounding victory, Philiphaugh was a crushing defeat from which the Royalists never recovered either their power or their prestige. When news of the wonderful achievement of the King's Lieutenant in Kilsyth reached the auxiliary army in England, the importance of the crisis was fully realised. Charles, it was known to them, was to make a strong effort to join forces with the Marquis of Montrose. Everything was arranged. The King was at Denbigh with a force of two thousand cavalry and making for the north, while the King's men were moving south towards the Border. This junction had, if possible, to be prevented. Unfortunately for the Royalist leader, as he had frequently experienced after a lengthened campaign, a large body

of his troops had disappeared. Most of the Highlanders, the most trusted of his soldiers, as was their wont, never accustomed to make war with the view of permanent conquest, but only with the hope of deriving temporary advantages or deciding some immediate quarrel, had returned to their homes, to secure the harvest and to place their booty. The Western clans, fearful of the Marquis of Argyll's revenge, had returned to mount guard on their homesteads and lands; while a great number of the Irish had gone foraging in Argyleshire on their own account. The army had to be recruited afresh, and while to a certain extent it was successful, the Marquis of Montrose soon came to learn, in the clash of battle, that his southern levies were not of the same calibre as the men of the hills and the mists. The cavalry arm was sadly deficient, only seventy odd of the Ogilvys were available, but this weakness was redressed by a considerable augmentation of horse from Upper Clydesdale and the borders as the result of Lord Ogilvy's recruiting. In the hope of still further adding to their strength in the country through which they might pass, the victorious Royalists set out on their march down the Tweed and arrived at Kelso on 9th September, 1645.

But meantime the Headquarter Staff of the auxiliary army, after anxiously debating the posture of affairs in all its bearings, decided on despatching a strong force, consisting mostly of cavalry, with the purpose of checking the further triumph of the King's newly appointed "Captain-General," and so prevent his junction with Charles. They appointed David Leslie, afterwards Lord Newark, a soldier of fortune, a man of great skill and strategic accomplishment, to the command, and furnished him with an army numbering six thousand men. As this army was crossing the Border at Berwick, it intercepted the Earls of Home and Roxburgh on their way with reinforcements for the Marquis of Montrose. These were immediately made prisoners; or, as has been alleged, at once surrendered, even petitioned to be arrested. This was of ill-omen for the Royalists, and when intelligence of it reached their camp caused no little trepidation. It

had been Leslie's design to make straight for the Forth with the intention of barring his enemy's retreat to the Highlands—the Royalists' happy recruiting ground. In the belief that Leslie was thus on a fool's errand, the Royalists lay quartered in their fancied security at Philiphaugh, under the shadow of the burgh of Selkirk. But on his way through the Lothians, the Commander of the Covenant army heard news of the position and strength of his enemy, at Gladsmuir it is said, which caused him to change his plans. He immediately turned south and descended the valley of Gala Water and quartered his army for the night within four miles of his enemy's camp, and unknown to him. The Marquis of Montrose must on this occasion have been ill served by his scouts, or may have been betrayed. A similar situation could hardly have arisen along the Grampian chain of hills, where every Highlander, like his native deer, could scent an enemy from afar. At least he was not aware, and the lack of knowing it cost him the ruin of the cause on which he had embarked.

On the morning of 13th September, 1645, a thick mist hung over the landscape, festooning the trees with webs of silk, and concealing from view every movement half a mile away. It was just such a morning as would rejoice the heart of the Covenanting army, and might confirm them in the belief that "the Lord of Hosts" was with them. This truly was, as in the ancient days, "the pillar of cloud by day." Nothing could be seen and as little heard. So far as the Covenanters were concerned there was no need for either the one or the other. The enemy's camping ground was known, and the river was an infallible and trustworthy guide. The little army of the King's men had just finished their morning meal and were in the act of assembling for parade, when, out of the mist on two sides, as a bolt from the blue, came the rush of Leslie's horse in the mad fury of a wild and deliberate charge.

The Marquis of Montrose, the Earl of Airlie, the Earl of Crawford and Lord Napier, were quietly partaking of a leisurely breakfast at their lodging in the West Port

of Selkirk, when a trooper broke in upon the easy flow of conversation with the news of the attack. Immediately the King's Captain-General mounted the trooper's horse and rode to the scene of action. The Earl of Airlie called out his horsemen and followed hard upon his leader. There was at first, as might be expected, great confusion in the field, but the Royalists soon rallied for the fight. On his arrival with the Ogilvy horse, taking in the situation at a glance, the Earl of Airlie charged down upon Leslie's horse with the same wild dash that turned the tide of battle at Kilsyth. He succeeded in driving back the Covenant troops, and so afforded a breathing-space to rally and bring up reserves, but the price paid for it was high : only fifty of the eighty Ogilvys came out of the charge ; the rest were either killed, or wounded and prisoners. Among the latter was Lord Ogilvy. However, the end soon came, when Leslie, having passed a contingent across the Ettrick, opened an attack on the rear. There was nothing left for it but flight, and those who were well mounted and found an outlet made good their escape.

The Earl of Airlie, who had fought bravely in the thickest of the fight, was surrounded by enemy troopers and was seen to be in grave peril, when instantly, unheeding the risk and danger, the Ogilvys in a furious charge and at great cost cut through the enemy and extricated their chief ; and it was only on their urgent solicitude that he was persuaded to quit the field. With the Earl of Crawford he rode from the scene of disaster. About forty of the Clan, all that was left of them, covered his escape, and this proved to be a wise precaution, as the Marquis of Montrose, under a like pressure of his friends to save himself for the sake of the cause, had also escaped. There was accordingly an instant pursuit. The loyal Ogilvy troopers boldly faced the pursuers and guarded the track of the Earl's flight, and it was only when they felt assured that he was at a safe distance that they broke from the enemy and followed hard after him, not drawing rein until they had come up with him at Biggar. Here the little company spent the night under

the cover of darkness and the protection of a wood, and by daybreak set out cautiously on their journey north. As they approached the ford of the river a few miles above the town of Lanark, the Earl of Airlie was rejoiced by meeting the Marquis of Montrose and a few followers making for the same passage of the Clyde. Together they rode warily through a long stretch of Covenanting country where friends were few and foes were numerous; and it was not till they had reached the foothills of the Grampians that they considered themselves safe.

The Earl of Airlie, deeming it unwise to return to Cortachy, though the Countess of Airlie had written him "hoping yat ye warre wold soon be over and yat he wold return home and attend to his owin afferes," dispersed his few followers, and with the Marquis of Montrose went to the uplands of Perthshire. For some days the cousins found shelter and hospitality in the house of a well-disposed friend in the hills of Atholl. It was necessary that they should lie low, and the least suspected quarter was the safest retreat. As the result of the defeat at Philiphaugh, their great enemy, the Marquis of Argyll, was again in the ascendant, and they had good reason to fear that, should an opportunity arise, he would not be sparing in the bounty of his wrath. Indeed, they had not long to wait till they had ample proof of his vindictive spirit. After a few weeks, however, on it becoming known that they were in Atholl, many of their sympathisers began to arrive upon the scene, and this gave encouragement to the fugitives to come out of hiding. They were not of a mind to take their defeat lying down. As a matter of fact, they were all the more readily spurred to action by the calamitous news that reached them of the execution of the prisoners of quality taken at Philiphaugh. The Committee of Estates had not allowed the grass to grow under their feet. "Judgment was running to and fro throughout the land." To show mercy was no part of the creed of the Covenant. Indeed, such a tender virtue occupied but an obscure place in the ethical values of the period among all classes and sections of the people. The doctrine which alone seemed

to command respect was the ancient dogma of a barbarous age: "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth." When, therefore, the Committee of Estates met in Glasgow in the rôle of Judiciary Council, the enemies of the Covenant knew what they might expect. Sir William Rollo, the Earl of Airlie's Chief Lieutenant, was the first to appear in the dock. His trial was brief. He was condemned and beheaded on 21st October, 1645. On the following day, Sir Philip Nisbet and Alexander Ogilvy, eldest son of Sir John Ogilvy of Inverquhar, shared the same fate. Others followed from time to time. These executions, instead of striking terror into the hearts of the Royalists, only stirred them on to make a fresh effort. A recruiting campaign was at once started. The Earl of Airlie and the Marquis of Douglas rode across country to Angus, and for the first time for many months the Earl was at Cortachy again in the bosom of his family and among his trusted clansmen. It was mid-winter—early in January, 1646. The snow lay deep upon the hills and throughout the Glens of Prosen and Clova. The frost was intense. "He had sent forth His ice like morsels," and the rivers were as hard bound as the roads. The trees in their white mantle looked like ghostly spectres in that quivering light which ushered in the dawn. On one such morning, at break of day, a company of horsemen, whose breath lay frozen on their beards, rode up to the Castle in obedience to the call of the Chief. Some of them were old campaigners, heroes of Kilsyth and no less heroic in the defeat at Philiphaugh: others were new to the business, but brave Ogilvys all of them, who had heard of the crowning victory in the west country and were burning to achieve a like fame for the honour and glory of the Clan, while the chief incentive was the fact that Lord Ogilvy's head was in peril.

While the Earl of Airlie was thus recruiting in Angus, the Marquis of Montrose had gone north in the hope of raising the Gordons. Viscount Aboyne, who had by now regretted his mad fit of jealousy, would have joined him, and indeed had assembled a considerable force for this

purpose, when his father, the Marquis of Huntly, interdicted him, and so the Captain-General had to abandon all hope in this quarter. In Atholl, four hundred men responded to his call, while the Earl of Airlie was to join him at Lochearnhead with a body of horse. Charles had promised to send him all his available troops—fifteen hundred horse. He was gathering strength again. But now began a series of disappointments. He was chagrined to learn that the royal levy had been intercepted near Dumfries by General Leslie and most of them taken prisoners. After the most vigorous recruiting all he could muster was a force of fifteen hundred foot and three hundred horse, and this was altogether insufficient to face the much stronger army of the Covenant. The fact was that a wave of caution had overspread the hearts of the people. Many who were zealous enough and ardently attached to Charles, even devout in their admiration of the military genius of the Marquis of Montrose and the Earl of Airlie, desired to have time to fully consider the prospects of any action on which they might determine. In short, the cause had in a large measure suffered eclipse. Philiphaugh and the sequel to it had made many good friends pause and think; even hesitate and doubt. Perhaps the knowledge of the precariousness of the situation had at length determined Charles to intervene, if by any chance he might save his friends from a hopeless enterprise and serious consequences to themselves. This, at least, is the reasonable interpretation of his letter written at Newcastle, on 19th May, 1646, to the Marquis of Montrose, directing him to disband his forces, to leave Scotland, and to await further instructions. Before obeying the royal command, however, and mindful of those who had stood so loyally by him, he resolved to stipulate for terms such as would relieve his friends of any evil consequences. General Middleton, an old friend of his, agreed to meet him on the banks of the Isla, north of Coupar-Angus, each to be accompanied by one servant to hold the horses. For the Earl of Airlie he secured a free pardon, the reversal of the attainder, and the restoration of his for-

feited lands. A free pardon was granted to all the Royalists excepting the Earl of Crawford, Sir John Hurry, and the Marquis of Montrose himself. These were to leave the country by 1st September, 1646. The terms settled, the Marquis of Montrose rode north to where his army lay encamped, near Rattray, and in the King's name bade them farewell and released them from the King's service. The Earl of Airlie was the last to leave his leader. With an affectionate farewell, and accompanied by a hundred of his clan, he rode to Cortachy Castle, if with a heavy, yet with a relieved heart, that he was a free man.

It was well for him that the Marquis of Montrose had made so firm a bargain in his favour, as the Committee of Estates, at the head of which was the Marquis of Argyll, on hearing of the terms granted by General Middleton to him, were furious that he should thus escape them; but they dared not repudiate the terms of their own General—a brave soldier and a broad-minded man, who respected his word of honour. If it had been in his power, the Marquis of Argyll would not have allowed the Earl of Airlie to escape so easily. What he could do, he did. It may be remembered that at the request of Charles the Earl had subscribed the Covenant. It matters not that in so doing he acted by way of convenience, and not from conviction. Since then he had lost no opportunity of fighting against it. The only penalty open to the Covenanters to inflict upon him was the censure of the Church. This was duly carried into effect, and the minute records :

“ At ye Kirk of Edynborough bee Maister Robert Blair, Minister at Sanct Androis, The Erle of Ayrly, Sir Alexander MacDonald and some utheris ware this day, Ye 27th day of July 1646, excommunicated.”

The loss of “ Church privileges ” would not greatly disconcert him, since the Church was now frankly Presbyterian; but his honour and estates, these touched him to the quick, and he lost no time in calling upon the Estates of Parliament to implement and confirm the terms made on his behalf with General Middleton. He did not wait

on their good offices or rely on their hospitable consideration of his case. He immediately took the matter in hand himself, and petitioned the Parliament to make good the terms by authoritative Act of the Legislative Assembly. The following extract from the Records of the Convention of Estates in its Session of 1647 proves that no time was lost in retrieving his position :

“ The Estates of Parliament in consideration of ye Petition of James, Erle of Airly, desyring an Act of Parliament in favour of himselfe, his airis, and successouris, Assuring, reponing, restoring, and reintegrating him to his honours, Life dignities, fortune, estait, landis, heritages, privileges, guidis, geir, and whatsumever heirtofore belonging to him able and granting unto him full and free libertie and power to bruik and enjoy the same without any question to be moved yr’ anent for anie deidis done be him in the course he has been formerlie on, or in relation thairto : And that notwithstanding of the process and sentence of forefaulter led and pronouncit against him and as if ye same had never been intendit or pronouncit.

The saidis Estates after dew considerationne of the promises, They, in respect of ye forfeited power granted unto ye Committee of Estates be the Parliament at Sanct Androis for reclaiming of ye rebel to yr. dew obedience, be manner abonespeit, And of ye warrand granted be ye Committee to Major General Middleton for that effect ; and of ye assurance foresaidis grantit be him to ye said James, Erle of Airly, and of his becomeing acted for his good behaviour under the pane abonespeit, do heirby rescind the foresaid process, decreet, and sentence of forefaulter ; Sett and Pronouncit against the Supplicant, Qrby he is excludit from his hous and dignities : And ratifies and approves the foresaid assurance granted to the said Major General Middleton be the hail headis thereof conforms to ye tenours of ye samen in all points. And gives and grantes full pardon and remission and discharge to ye said James, Erle of Airly, off all deidis done be him in ye foresaid rebellione or in the relatione yrto. And restoris and reponis him to ye possessiounne of his Landis, and Title, and honor. And declaris him able, and grantis unto him full and free libertie and power to bruik and enjoy his honor, Lyfe, Dignities, places, fortune, estaitis, landis, heritages, privileges, guidis, geir, and everything quhatsumever heirtofore pertaining and belonging to him ; Except sick guidis and geir as were taken from him the tym he was in rebellione be anie persone quhatsumever that was not in ye said rebellione.”

Within two years of the reversal of the attainder—such are the strange vicissitudes of human fortune—the Earl of Airlie found himself acting alongside and in hearty sympathy with his erstwhile enemies. The execution of Charles I. on 30th January, 1649, was deeply resented in Scotland. The mercenary and dishonourable transaction by which the Scottish auxiliary forces surrendered the person of the Sovereign to the Commissioners of the English Parliament, when it became known, raised such a storm of indignation and so widespread that all party differences, civil and ecclesiastical, gave way before it. The three parties in the State, highly inimical to each other on most questions of domestic policy, came together in their resentment over the execution of their native Prince. This speedy reconciliation of all classes and sections of the people goes to show that, notwithstanding the bitterness created by the late Civil War and the supposed principles at stake, there underlay the contentions of the Covenanters a deep vein of royal feeling, and that they were not in actuality opposed to the person of the Sovereign so much as to the assumption by him of an autocratic power to impose upon them a system of worship and polity which were repugnant to them. It also throws a flood of light upon the Civil War itself, and shows that, behind the principles for which the contending parties fought so strenuously, there lay the old passion of feudal hatred and clan hostility. There can be no question, even in face of the Civil War, that there was in the hearts of the Scottish people a genuine loyalty to the Throne. This may be gathered from the fact that their resentment of the execution of Charles I. took the practical shape, with the consent of all parties, of entering on a treaty with Charles II. for the purpose of offering to him the Crown of Scotland.

The Earl of Airlie, now in his sixty-fifth year, did not join the Marquis of Montrose in his last and abortive campaign. What he might have done, had there been a good cause, is hardly open to doubt. He was loyal to his ideal, but he yet had the wisdom to see that the unanimity of all parties in favour of Charles II. should not be

imperilled by a new insurrection. His attitude was that the young King had been proclaimed at the Market Cross of Edinburgh on 4th February, 1649, and he should be given the chance of meeting his subjects in a time of tranquillity. It would be foolish to herald his coming by the clash of internecine warfare, the effect of which could only be the resurrection of old passions which for the present were in abeyance. This attitude was not the result of the principle of *laissez-faire*, but on the broad ground that the season was inopportune for such sectional controversies. It may be, however—indeed, the likelihood is that it was even so—that the Earl of Airlie was unaware of the purport of the interviews at the Hague which took place between Charles II. and the Marquis of Montrose, which led up to that last and fatal attempt to restore the royal prerogative. He was certainly ignorant of, as the Marquis of Montrose had apparently failed to perceive on the spot, the duplicity of Charles II., who, while professing to accept the terms of the Covenant in his interviews with the representatives of the Estates, urged upon the Royalist leader to pursue a course of action to the opposite effect. There can be no doubt, too, that the latter was misled as to the feeling that prevailed in the country at the time. Lord Kinnoull had reported to him from Orkney that the common people were on the brink of revolt, and flatteringly, perhaps irreverently, added :

“Your Lordship is gaped after with that expectation that the Jews look for the Messiah, and certainly your presence will restore your groaning country to its liberties and the King to his rights.”

This was very misleading, as the Earl of Airlie, living in the heart of things, could have informed him. The person “gaped after” was not himself but Charles II., and while there was a genuine feeling in favour of royalty, there was no desire to assert the old battle-cry of the prerogative. The enterprise of Charles’s “Viceroy” and “Admiral of the Seas” was thus doomed from the

day of its inception, and with its failure came the fall and execution of the Marquis of Montrose.

While the possibilities of his genius were available to him, Charles strove to dictate to the Scottish Parliament his own conditions of compliance with their wishes; but when the Royalist's death was reported to him, seeing no other resources, he agreed to accept the Crown of Scotland on the terms offered—an absolute submission to the will of Parliament in civil affairs, and a recognition of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland as supreme in matters ecclesiastical. On these terms the treaty was concluded, and within three weeks of the noble Marquis's death Charles sailed from Holland.

The Earl of Airlie was on a visit, perhaps opportunely arranged, to his property at Banff near the Deveron. The only available harbour on the coast had been built and maintained by him, while he had a residence in the town which was known as "Lord Airlie's Lodging." It was at this harbour that Charles II. made his landing on 16th June, 1650. The representatives of the Estates were there to meet him, while the Earl of Airlie, as Lord of the Manor, extended to him a gracious welcome when he was allowed to disembark. But this was delayed for a time. Like "Naaman, captain of the host of the king of Syria . . . a great man with his master . . . also a mighty man of valour, but a leper," the Earl of Airlie had still the leprous affection of rebellion against the Covenant attaching to him, and though pardoned and restored to his honour, was still under suspicion of having the germs of the disease lurking in his blood. He had, therefore, to stand aside while the Lords of the Congregation met on board to interview Charles II. and secure his subscription to the Covenant, which, with a wry mouth, he was constrained to do.

It must be remembered that at this time Charles was a mere youth bordering on twenty: young, it may be said, and inexperienced; but yet old enough to have shot forth branches of character of a decided if not of a lovable nature, which burst forth in after-years into full leaf that did not contribute "to the healing of the nation."

He was a different type of man from his father. Of the latter it has been said that "there was not a more honourable, virtuous, or religious man in his dominions." He entertained a high and, as many thought, an extravagant ideal of his royal dignity and power which was unsuitable to the time in which he lived. He was certainly influenced by a most tender conscience, which, with an elevated sense of duty, often came in the way of compromise. It was even alleged against him that he would yield nothing. His son was quite the reverse : his grandfather over again without his shrewd knowledge of men. Whereas Charles I. possessed high principles and was guided by them, Charles II. had no principles at all, and would concede any point to any party if thereby he could attain his own ends. It was in this spirit that he subscribed the Covenant. Young, impulsive, and eager to set foot on the land of his ancestors, the ancient heritage of the long line of Stewart Kings, Charles was gratified to find one of his late father's most intimate friends in waiting to receive him. They were known to each other, and the youthful monarch would have lively memories of the Earl of Airlie's residence at Court in troublous days. Much in each other's company during the journey to Stirling, they had frequent intercourse while Charles II. was resident there ; and when news reached the Covenant Lords that Oliver Cromwell, on hearing of the landing of Charles, was mustering an army for the invasion of the country, and it was determined to remove to Perth, the Earl of Airlie travelled north in the King's company. At Perth, however, a stricter guard was kept of the royal youth. Only the faithful of the Covenant were allowed to approach his person, and the Earl of Airlie was given to understand that his presence was not desirable. He accordingly retired from the scene and returned to Cortachy Castle.

He was soon, however, to have the pleasure of the King's company under his roof, unfettered by the scrutinising gaze of the Lords of the Congregation. It was a brief visit under dramatic circumstances. By historians it has been called "the Start." It came about

as the result of what must have been to him an irksome position. While in Perth, Charles was not allowed intercourse with any save the strictest sect among the Covenanters; and it was expected of him that he should conform to their ways and manner of life. He made a show of doing so, and he was well qualified when he chose to play a double part. He was a born actor, capable of assuming the character in which he should appear; but, as it turned out, too much was expected of him. Bishop Burnett records that :

“He wrought himself into as grave a deportment as he could: he heard many prayers and sermons, some of great length. I remember on one Fast Day there were six sermons preached without intermission. I was there myself and not a little weary of so tedious a service.”

When a Lord Bishop confesses to ennui, it is not the least surprising to learn that the youthful Charles was heart-sick of the business. Not only was he wearied, but he had good cause to be deeply grieved and insulted by the frequent allusions of the preachers to the blood-guiltiness of his father and the idolatry of his mother, even more than hinting at what they frankly termed his own ill-disguised disposition to malignity. A youth, too, accustomed all his days to open air and physical exercise, he would have liked a walk on the North Inch by the banks of the Tay on a Sunday afternoon, but this was forbidden. He would have enjoyed a game of cards of an evening, or a dance, but this was considered *infra dignitatem* for the King of the Covenant. Even his favourite study of Euclid, to which he was devoted, was looked at askance. So restricted, indeed, were his occupations, and so hemmed in was he on every side by these strait-laced sectaries, that his life was altogether intolerable. But the strain reached breaking-point when he was asked to sign a declaration in which he professed himself

“to be deeply humbled in the sight of God for his father’s opposition to the Solemn League and Covenant, . . . for the

idolatry of his mother, . . . and that he himself had subscribed the Covenant sincerely and not from any sinister intention or crooked design.”

Charles was shocked, as any son should be who had any regard for his parents. This was the last straw, and it awoke within him the desire to throw off the grievous yoke. It was more than he could bear, and he at once set about conceiving a plan whereby he might escape from a situation that to him was beyond endurance.

Early on the morning of 4th October, 1650, on the pretence that he was going a-hawking, his real purpose being disclosed to a very few of his intimates—the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Wilmot, and the Earl of Lauderdale, who did their best to dissuade him, yet kept his secret—Charles took flight from the Presbyterian camp, crossed the Tay, and rode at full speed through the Carse of Gowrie to Dudhope, near Dundee, where Viscount Dudhope and the Earl of Buchan, who were also in the secret, were in waiting to receive him. The stay at Dudhope was brief. After an early luncheon and a change of horse, he set out, accompanied by the two nobles, for Cortachy Castle, and, travelling by way of Auchterhouse, arrived, late on the afternoon of the same day, on a visit to the Earl of Airlie.

It is generally supposed that this exploit of Charles II. was the result of a concerted plan on the part of the Royalist faction to obtain possession of his person and establish the royal authority. There is sufficient evidence to prove that such a movement was in train, and that Cortachy Castle, as will be seen from the history of the second Earl of Airlie, was the pivot of the scheme. This plot, however, was only in the initial stage, and while soundings were being made in different parts of the country, nothing of an aggressive nature was to be done till after the Coronation, when Charles would be firmly established on the throne. But it had been secretly decided that at an opportune moment there should be a general rising; the arrangements being that the men of Atholl should make an attack on the Convention of Estates at Perth; that Viscount Dudhope should

secure Dundee; that Lord Ogilvy should take up arms in Angus; while General Middleton and the Marquis of Huntly should raise the north. This plot was under way, but the time was not ripe; and what chance there might have been for the success of the venture was ruined by the precipitate flight of the impetuous Charles. The intention was, after the Coronation, to resort to the Constitutional practice, as in the case of his grandfather, James VI., and repeat “the Raid of Ruthven,” with the advantageous difference that Charles would be a consenting party to the plot, which was then the ordinary and recognised mode of changing an Administration. But the impatience of Charles upset the scheme; and his arrival at Cortachy Castle, though welcome to the Earl of Airlie, was, to say the least of it, highly premature and inopportune.

If, as historians alleged, Charles was greatly disappointed by the meagre force placed at his disposal and available for his protection, it will be gathered from what has been stated that he had himself to blame for so rashly anticipating the action of his friends. The generality of writers, however, give an inaccurate account of the Cortachy visit. The statement which has gained general currency is to the effect that it was thought by the Earl of Airlie, as by the other friends assembled at the Castle on the occasion, that Charles could not with safety remain there over the night, and consequently it was decided that, after partaking of some refreshments, he should be conducted to Clova, where, it is said, he was lodged “in a poor cottage.” The “poor cottage” is certainly in the picture of the Cortachy visit, but not yet. The Earl of Airlie was not the type of man to apprehend danger, or to give way to fear. As a matter of fact, Charles not only remained at the Castle but slept there in perfect security. The room which he occupied, since then known in Cortachy Castle as “the King’s Room,” had underneath a secret chamber to which he might easily escape if danger threatened. On the following day, his host, by way of entertaining his royal guest, took him on an excursion

to Glen Clova with a company of Ogilvy troopers as bodyguard. It was the intention of the company to return to Cortachy in the afternoon, but while in the Glen they came to hear that a search-party of the Covenant was out in pursuit of Charles. In an attempt to escape his pursuers, he took refuge "in a poor cottage,"<sup>1</sup> where he was found late the same night, as Balfour says in his "Annals," "lying in a filthy room, on an old bolster, above a mat of sedges and rushes, over-wearied and very fearful." He was conducted, as Aikman has it, "to more suitable apartments in Huntly Castle, and next day, Sunday, brought to Perth, where he heard ane comfortable sermon in his owen Chamber of presence, the afternoon's sermon in the Tounne being endit before he entered." The two books which Charles carried about his person wherever he went—the Book of Common Prayer and a manuscript copy of Euclid—he left at Cortachy Castle, no doubt against his return there, but this being frustrated by the arrival of Montgomery and his troopers, these were allowed to remain, and they are preserved to this day in the Airlie family as interesting memorials of the royal visit.

At this stage, by way of variety and change of scene, it may be interesting, as it will afford occasion for a pleasant break in the narrative, to make acquaintance with the members of the Earl of Airlie's family. By his marriage with Isobel Hamilton there was a family of three sons and three daughters :

1. Lord Ogilvy, whose life of adventure and romance, about which one or two glimpses have already been given, will come in due course and will entertain the reader for a considerable time.

2. Sir Thomas Ogilvy of Lintrathen, born at Airlie Castle on 28th August, 1616, was educated under a tutor at St. Andrews University, and, like the other members of the family, was an ardent Royalist and took an active part in the series of battles waged by the Marquis of Montrose. He was chiefly instrumental in raising the

<sup>1</sup> A shepherd's hut.

troop of Ogilvy horse which played so important a part in the success of the campaign. A man of remarkably fine character, he had won distinction in the service of the King under his father-in-law, Ruthven, Earl of Brentford. With the Royalist army throughout its campaign in the north, he was mortally wounded at the battle of Inverlochy, and, according to Wishart, "died of his wounds a few days afterwards." In his despatch to Charles I., giving an account of the battle, the Marquis of Montrose stated :

"We have of your Majesty's army about 200 wounded, but, I hope, few of them dangerously. I can hear of but 4 killed ; and one whom I cannot name to your Majesty but with grief of mind, Sir Thomas Ogilvy, a son of the Earl of Airlie, of whom I writ to your Majesty in my last. He is not yet dead, but they say he cannot possibly live, and we give him over for dead. Your Majesty had never a truer servant, nor there never was a braver, honester gentleman."

It is recorded by Wishart "that after his death the Marquis of Montrose ordered his body to be conveyed to Atholl and interred as magnificently as the time and place would allow."

He married, in 1640, Patricia Ruthven, daughter of Patrick, Earl of Forth and Brentford, and widow of Colonel Thomas Ker of Fernilee. In a letter to his mother, the Countess of Airlie, dated Edinburgh, 14th December, 1642, the only communication of his among the family papers, he wrote :

"I was extremelie glad that I went to my uncle's house, for I found them all werie kynd to me. My Lord of Forth has wrettin to his Lady desyring her to cum to him with all convenient delligence as possible shoe can. He is lykwayes desyrous that I should cum up with her. I hope that your Ladyship will be no ways a dissuader of me from that course, seeing that ther is no friend heir that doeth dissuade me but rather thinks that if I doe other ways I do amisse."

The Earl of Brentford, who was a resolute defender of Charles I. and held a command in the Royal army in His Majesty's war against the English Parliament, suffered for his loyalty by having his estates confiscated under the rule of Oliver Cromwell. On the Restoration

Charles II. rescinded this act of forfeiture and restored the property to the family.

The Earl of Airlie, shrewd and alert in business, was quick to intervene in favour of his daughter-in-law and her two daughters, and petitioned His Majesty to the effect that a suitable provision for them should be made out of the restored estates. The petition is dated at Cortachy 25th July, 1661, in which, after referring to the circumstances, he states :

“ Because my second sone Sir Thomas Ogilvy (a gentleman pensoner of youre Majesties’ father’s privie Chalmer, and who was killed at ye Battell of Inverloquhay in his Majestie’s service, (he being thair w<sup>th</sup> the Marquis of Montros and me) did marie the eldest dochter off ye Earle of Branford, who remains a widow, with twa dochters—Clara and Cristian Ogilvy, maids unmarried, at whose request I humblic represent to youre Majestie that they being descendants should share in Lord Branfords estait as well as his younger dochter, my Ladie Froster.”

The “ maids unmarried ” were soon provided for, as the elder, Clara, was married to Robert Fletcher of Ballinshoe, and the younger, Christian, to Sir James Ramsay of Bamff.

3. Sir David Ogilvy of Clova, who was born at Farnell Castle in 1621, was, like his elder brothers, educated at St. Andrews University, and was a staunch Royalist, following the fortunes of war with the Marquis of Montrose. Although his name does not figure so prominently in the records of the Civil War, he was none the less a persistent force in the campaign so long as he was permitted to remain in the ranks. Sorely against his will, however, on the return of the Royalists from the north, when the Earl of Airlie rejoined the force after his illness, he was ordered to remain at Cortachy for the protection of the family. As his father had been attainted and the estates forfeited, it was necessary that, seeing the Earl was in high mood for the conflict and Lord Ogilvy in prison, he, the only available member of the House, should mount guard to protect the family interests and overlook affairs. If he was not permitted

to share his father's glory at Kilsyth, and if he was saved the sorrowful disaster of Philiphaugh, he had the satisfaction to know that, during his father's absence, with his little army of mounted Ogilvys, he had guarded Cortachy Castle and maintained its defences against all attacks.

Sir David Ogilvy, on attaining majority, was granted by Charter the lands of Clova. A thanage of the Crown, Clova was given, in 1328, by King Robert I. to Donald, Earl of Mar, father-in-law to the King, "for payment of twenty pounds, carriages, and other services." For seventy years it continued in possession of the Mar family till 1398, when Isabella, Countess of Mar, resigned it in favour of David, Earl of Crawford. It has been alleged that Clova first came into the possession of the Ogilvys as the reward of treachery; the story being that Thomas, the third son of Sir John Ogilvy of Inverquharity, deserted his clan at the Battle of Arbroath, in 1445, and took part with the Lindsays against his own kinsmen. For this act of clan treachery, the Earl of Crawford is said to have given him the lands of Clova, reserving to himself the superiority. A good deal of confusion has arisen from the fact that subsequent to this date a number of Charters were granted from time to time relating to the Lindsay interests in Clova; but these Charters, it may here be stated, are concerned, not with the actual proprietorship of the lands, but with the matter of superiority. Clova continued in the possession of the descendants of Thomas Ogilvy till it was sold, in 1625, to the Earl of Airlie.

The ancient Castle of Clova, at this period a ruin, was probably built by one of the Lindsays long before the lands were gifted to Thomas Ogilvy in 1446. It must have been a prominent landmark in the district, commanding an extensive view all over the Glen. Though not a fortalice, it was strongly built on the recognised plan of the period, its walls being 20 feet high and 4 feet in thickness. The time and the cause of its destruction are conjectural. On these points tradition has been busier than usual. It is said that one of the Lindsays,

who was in bad odour with his neighbours, was attacked at dead of night by a band of raiders, and while he made good his escape by a secret subway, the Castle was burnt. Another story is to the effect that the Earl of Montrose, in his Covenant days, destroyed it during his raid in the north. This is most unlikely, not only on account of his relationship to the Earl of Airlie, and his conduct at Airlie Castle, but from the known fact that in his march to Aberdeen on that occasion he kept to the low country and was joined by the Earl-Marischal at Stonehaven. Its destruction has also been attributed to the soldiers of Oliver Cromwell on the occasion when they besieged Cortachy Castle. All these stories are mostly legendary, floating traditions of the Glen, without any circumstantial evidence on which to found a proof. Perhaps the most likely story is the account given by Pitcairn in "The Criminal Trials." According to him—and his information is generally reliable—Clova Castle was destroyed in 1591, the year when the Campbells invaded the Ogilvy country and laid waste the lands of Glenisla and Lintrathen.

"Under silence of night," it is said, "five hundred broken men and sornaris, houndit oute be the Erll of Ergyle and his freindis invadit the inhabitants and murthourit and slue three or four innocent men and women, and reft and took awa ane gryt pray of Guidis."

Sir David Ogilvy built a mansion at the Milton of Clova. Although it has long since disappeared—but for what reason it is impossible to determine, unless it may be that Balnaboth proved to be a more attractive residence—many of the stones that were included in it have been built into several cottages in the district, and one of these in particular has a special interest to this narrative. It is likely to have been the lintel of the entrance-gate, which, according to the custom of the period, bears the initial letters of the Christian name and surname of the husband and wife of the builder :

D. O. ○ I. G.—1684.

Sir David Ogilvy felt the execution of Charles I. so deeply that he scorned to accept the terms of the general amnesty of 1649, and took up arms on his own responsibility and at his own charge, despising the authority of the Convention of Estates, while for his rebellious conduct during the early days of the Commonwealth the lands of Clova were forfeited. But on 30th June, 1661, Charles II., on his Restoration and on the suggestion of the Earl of Lauderdale, restored him to his honour and to his estate. As a sincere upholder of Episcopal orders, when His Majesty determined to adhere to the policy of his father and revive this form of government in the Church of Scotland by the force of arms, Sir David Ogilvy took the field in those killing times of persecution of Presbyterianism. While stationed in the west country with his regiment, in Ayrshire, the stronghold of Covenant doctrines, he met his fate. In a letter to his mother, the Countess of Airlie, he wrote :

“ MAYBOILL,  
15th February, 1667.

Notwithstanding yatt I head wretten w<sup>t</sup> ye Laird of Meldrum's Stewart yat I intendit to kiss your Ladyship's hands, I immediatelie after this boyes raturne having resaved advertisement from Edenboro yatt ye troopes wer to be mustered, I am forced to stay for some short tym, I writ we were quartered amongst the best people in the worlde. We have a next neighbour one of the most accomlisest, best, and gal-lantest Ladie in the worlde, not only in my opinione but in the opinione of all those in this part of the worlde. Shoe is sister to the Lord Bargennie. Hir portione is most considerable, consisting of fyve thousand merks a yeare. Madam, my inclinatione leads me extremlye yat way, fynding so much beyond ordinair of goodness and other splendant perfectiones, whairin shoe excells.”

After thus extolling the young lady's virtuous qualities, the dutiful son begs his mother's forbearance with him for having so far engaged his affections without first consulting her wishes, and expresses the hope that, in event of his suit being successful, she “ will give consent.” Needless to say that, at the kittle age of

forty-six, strong-minded and resolute of purpose, and with such a flame of consuming affection inspiring his mind, he landed his prize, and all the more easily as she had travelled that course before. In the summer of 1667 he married Margaret Hamilton, eldest daughter of John, first Lord Bargeny, and widow of John Kennedy of Culzean. In the following year a son was born to them. Twelve years later, at a critical age, she was seriously ill, and in a letter to his brother, the Earl of Airlie, Sir David wrote, on 12th October, 1679: "My Lady has bein tender ever since ye wenth from this. Ye will doe weill to cum over both to sie hir and to battel severall besines." Lady Ogilvy died about the end of the year. He married, secondly, the marriage contract being dated 21st October, 1682, Isabella Guthrie, daughter of Patrick Guthrie of Auchmithie. It was her initials with those of Sir David that were inscribed on the lintel of the gateway of the old house of Clova.

In 1661, when the scattered members of the body of the Marquis of Montrose were collected and given a public funeral, Sir David Ogilvy, representing his father, who was then in London, was one of the pall-bearers "in this act of reparation." While in Edinburgh for this act of reverence to the memory of one with whom he was in sympathy, and whose ideal he held in high esteem, he was privileged to witness the execution of the great enemy of his House, the Marquis of Argyll. In a letter to his father, the Earl of Airlie, dated at Edinburgh, 30th May, 1661, he wrote:

"I doubt not but youre Lordship haith haird of ye death of ye Marquis of Argill, who was beheaded on Monday last at two in the cloke in the efternoon whose head is affixed on the wast end of ye Tolbooth. I have sent your Lordship his speech inclosed wher your Lordship will persave that he haith dayed as he lived."

In the second Parliament of Charles II., which met at Edinburgh on 19th October, 1669, Sir David Ogilvy represented the county of Forfar for three Sessions till

17th September, 1672. He again represented the county in the King's third Parliament in 1681-82.

He died in 1701 and was succeeded by his son of the first marriage, David, who died in 1726, leaving no issue, when Clova reverted to the Earl of Airlie.

4. Margaret, a true heroine of the family, whose daring exploit will be referred to later, was married, the marriage contract being dated 17th-18th February, 1631, to Patrick Urquhart of Lethentie and Meldrum. She would be eighteen years of age at the time of her marriage, being born at Airlie Castle some time in the year 1613. She bore a striking likeness to her brother, Lord Ogilvy, and this, it will be seen, she dexterously turned to good account in his favour at an extreme crisis of his fortune.

5. Helen, who was married, as his first wife, to John Carnegy, younger, afterwards Sir John Carnegy of Balnamoon; the marriage contract is dated 23rd November, 1642. This was the first marriage in the Airlie family at Cortachy, and the event took place during that quiet period between the return of the Earl of Airlie from England and his embarking in the Civil War. Sir John Carnegy was a nephew of David, first Earl of Southesk, and as a close and intimate friendship existed between the Airlie and Southesk families, the alliance was regarded with great favour on both sides. In a letter to her sister, the Countess of Airlie, dated Edinburgh, 26th July, 1644, Lady Margaret Hamilton wrote :

"I was verie weil plised to heir be the Laird of Balnamoon how grit contentment he and his Leddie has in youre dochter's guid behaviour to them baith, in setting hir self, so far from yow, to giv them contentment, and also that they had sum hop that she was with chyld. I pray God mor and mor to giv hir and hir husband and his parent caus to blis God for thair gude luk in that match. I thank the Lorde my dochter thinks hir self verie weil matched and sae doth hir husband him self. Balnamoon will tell you what a malicious ly was forged against hir which I think this [word torn] as it wanted truth so did it all kynd of probabilities. We have not hard any ferthur word from my Lord Hadington as yet."

The Laird of Balmamoon's "hop" ripened into the full fruition of assurance, and to Lady Helen was born a son, James. She died about 1650.

6. Isobel, who had a tocher good of 14,000 merks, but who, although she died, unmarried, in 1654, after a lingering illness, had tasted the flavour of "love's young dream." Lady Isobel had apparently a mind and a will of her own. A matrimonial project was duly staged; the knight, though his name has not been recorded (but to judge by the following letter was of the House of Southesk), was brought upon the scene; the parents and friends were fully satisfied; but the young lady flatly refused to approach the contract, thus proving the truth of the words of Endymion :

"Like Dian's kiss, unasked, unsought,  
Love gives itself, but is not bought."

Lady Margaret Hamilton, writing to her sister, the Countess of Airlie, on the subject, said :

"It seems to me be my Lord youre sonne that baith his father and he is as weill plised w<sup>t</sup> ye intended match for youre dochter as ye youre self can be. So I think it be only Lady Isobel hir selff that be not weill content, as she wreit a word to me that savours that way. Treuly, I wish she may not be avers from ye business, especiaillie for hir owen gude, and nixt, lest she meike a ground of mistak, as if it sould be thought that hir freinds and I suld hir. Drawn Balmamoon upon that purpos to get him ane afront as that family gat befor be ye refusall of my Ladie Montrose for my Lord your sonne."

Lady Isobel Ogilvy died in 1654. In a letter dated at "Cortaquhy, 22nd July, 1654," to Sir Patrick Hamilton of Little Preston, his brother-in-law, Lord Airlie wrote :

"I receved all youre letteris wharof ye mak mentione in this, send by post of Edinbrogh, and gives you many thanks for youre paines and kyndness shoven to us, and entreates yow to have me excused for my delay in not sending answer mor tymeisly to yow, for trewly the death of our doghter, Isobel (whom God in his mercie hes removed from us be a long and lingering seikness) hes moved me to think les upon my effairs then utherwayes I wold have done, . . . having no fardder to

say at yis tim bot yat my wyff and I hes our most harty dewtie remembered to yow, to youre Ladie and childing, and remines ever youre affectionet freind and servant."

The Earl of Airlie was a capable man of business, of sound practical knowledge of affairs, and took an active interest in the administration and development of his estates. Although a trustworthy kinsman had the factorial interests in charge, he gave personal supervision to every proposal that was boarded, and satisfied himself that it was not only necessary but for the general ~~good~~ good. As might be expected, during his long absence in England, again throughout the Civil War, and especially during the two years of the forfeiture, things had gone out of joint. The Countess of Airlie, who was shrewd and practical and had a keen eye to observe the trend of things, was not slow to inform him that all was not as it might be, and that his affairs would prosper all the better by his presence. The Earl had written to her regarding his "money supplies," and added :

"I wold be glad to resave youre letteres, for seeing we could not have wished for occasione this long tyme bygone to meit together, it wold be some comfort yat we sould heir oftener nor we have done in tyme past of each other's good health."

To this communication Lady Airlie replied with just a tinge of pertness :

"Your children and frends heir ar weil, pressed be God! As for youre Lordship's afferes, they wold be the better that yow war neirer them, and I believe it war this better for your self. I pray God send ane gude and solid peas that yow may then injoy youre pairt yerof in youre awne countrie."

On the Royalist army being disbanded in the summer of 1646, the Earl of Airlie, on his return to Cortachy, set about the arrears of business which had accumulated during his absence. He had just got things under way again, when the upheaval over the execution of Charles I. and the proposal to place Charles II. on the throne of Scotland called him once more into the thorny field of politics. The part he acted on the occasion has just been

narrated. As a member of the Estates of Parliament, and as a special friend of His Majesty, he was present at the Coronation of Charles at Scone, on 1st January, 1651. What were the thoughts that must have passed through his mind, and how he must have felt, may only be conjectured, as he listened to Charles II. accepting "the Crown of this kingdom" and solemnly promising to "maintain religion as presently professed and established, conform to the National Covenant, and the League and Covenant"; and swearing "to govern them by the laws of the kingdom, and to defend them in their rights and liberties." All for which he had so strenuously contended was lost. He had fought and suffered in vain. Presbyterianism was raised on high. Constitutional government was the order of the day.

While the Coronation scene was taking place by the banks of the Tay, Oliver Cromwell was on the march to invade Scotland. The Battle of Dunbar a few months before had been a crushing blow; but now, with the King at the head of the army and given a free hand, a great effort was to be made to liberate the country. By reason of his advanced age, and perhaps in virtue of the fact that the cause did not appeal to him so forcibly as hitherto, the Earl of Airlie, while he supported in Parliament the repeal of the Act of Classes, whereby appointments in the army would be thrown open to the "Malignants," as the supporters of the Marquis of Montrose were called, did not himself take the field. Of fighting he had had enough and nothing to show for it. He retired to Cortachy Castle to attend to his own affairs. Like the aged Barzillai, he would not "be a burden unto my Lord, the King"; but his two sons—Lord Ogilvy and Sir David—they could go, if they had a mind; and as there was the prospect of fighting, there would be little room for doubt where their mind would lead them.

In the early summer of 1651, the Earl of Airlie, no longer in the fighting line, went north to his property in Banff, taking the ward lands of Aboyne, of which he held the superiority, on the way, to complete engagements which had been interrupted by the landing of

Charles II. the previous year. A matter in which he took a great interest was the disjunction from the parish of Banff and the erection into a separate parish of Boyndie, which he initiated in 1649, and with other heritors had appointed the Archbishop of Glasgow and the Bishop of Ross to settle the new boundaries and fix the quantum of stipend due to Boyndie. A few years before, he had secured certain lands and fishings from Lord Banff, the annual value of which amounted to £626 10s. These and other matters engaged him for a considerable time; and while thus setting things in order along the wild coast of the North Sea, he little thought of the strange happenings that were taking place at Cortachy Castle.

For the first time in her history, Scotland lay prostrate under the iron heel of Oliver Cromwell. What Edward I. and his successors had failed to do, he in a comparatively brief period effected. With the exception of a few refractory subjects, all fight had gone out of the heart of the Scottish people. General Monk, on his master returning south to experience his "crowning victory," was left in charge to subdue and administer the kingdom. A few of the more daring spirits gave him trouble. While engaged in reducing Dundee and some other places to obedience, Lord Ogilvy and a number of the Angus nobility launched out in active hostility and made the Valley of Strathmore ring with the clash of their arms. The object of this rebellion was to harass the English troops and cut off small parties of straggling soldiers. So persistent were these attacks and "so ravaged was the Shire," that a petition was forwarded to Perth "that troops be sent to save it from ruin." General Monk sent a force from Dundee, under the command of Lieutenant Greane, to besiege and take Cortachy Castle, and establish a regiment there as a place of danger.

On their arrival, the soldiers of the Commonwealth, incensed by the loss of their comrades by Lord Ogilvy's sharpshooters—or, as they were called, "moss-troopers"—were in no mood for gentle measures, but disposed for

ruthless warfare. They found the Castle in a state of defence, though its defenders were the proud women of the House. The obstacles, however, were formidable. The high wall which then surrounded the Castle was difficult to negotiate, while the strong iron gateway was secured from within, but fortunately for the besieging party a weak point was discovered in the south wall which led to the garden. This gateway was of wood, but well secured. It was immediately fired and quickly demolished, and by this means the soldiers gained an entrance to the "Close," along which they rushed with drawn swords and pistols cocked, shouting, "No quarter to man, woman, or child." The Castle was occupied at the time of this surprise attack by the Countess of Airlie and her two daughters, Lady Margaret and Lady Isobel Ogilvy, with the usual complement of domestics. Lady Airlie appeared at a window on the third floor, and to the demand to surrender she boldly defied them and coldly remonstrated with them, refusing to surrender or give quarter. They tried to intimidate her by presenting their carbines and throwing stones at the window, but she stood her ground. They threatened; she defied them. They repeated their demands; she would not yield. There was no way but to force an entrance. The main doorway was of solid oak, strongly buttressed from within. To force it would be a heavy and perhaps a dangerous task. The soldiers fired it, and while it was in a blaze Lord Melgam opportunely appeared upon the scene, and realising the hopelessness of withstanding the assault, entreated Lieutenant Greane to save the lives of the inmates, while he advised Lady Airlie to yield to force, whereupon she threw the keys of the Castle out of the window. The soldiers, thus gaining access, made diligent search, and found, as had been suspected, "a large supply of arms, powder and shot, and other war material." But with this, now that their blood was up, they were not content. A great deal of household goods were seized as lawful prize; only the beds and the women's apparel were respected; while all the gold, jewels, and money on which they could lay their hands

were appropriated, allowing the ladies to retain their watches as a concession. The Castle was thoroughly sacked.

When, soon after, the Earl of Airlie returned to Cortachy, General Monk was forced to listen to some very plain language, as he was made to feel that he was up against a formidable power that he should do well to conciliate. If his lordship were of the mind, he had the determined will and the resources at his command to make things uncomfortable for the Chief Commissioner of the Commonwealth. Of the three parties in the State—~~Royalists~~, Revolutioners, and Protesters—General Monk held the Royalists most worthy of his esteem, and courted their favour and support. The personal friendships he contracted while in Scotland were chiefly in this section of the community. As he had learned from the Civil War, it was from them he had most to fear. As a soldier, he respected soldierly qualities. As a strong man, he honoured a man of strength. He was thus prepared not only to listen to the protestation of the Earl of Airlie, but in order to conciliate him readily agreed to inquire into his complaint, and if possible redress his grievances. Accordingly at Dundee, on 11th October, 1651, he held a court martial on the conduct of the troops in their attack upon Cortachy Castle. The Countess of Airlie, Lady Margaret and Lady Isobel Ogilvy, gave their evidence in substance as described. Lord Melgam witnessed to what he had seen. Christian Fyffe, a domestic, testified that “Lady Airlie offered all reason to the Lieutenant if he would retire as far as the Dovecot.” The soldiers were then examined, and the question was put to the Court: “Whether, upon what had been heard, the goods in the Earl of Airlie’s house are prize or no?” This being answered in the negative, it was resolved that

“Lady Airlie shall have the money which was raised upon the sale of the goods taken in Cortachy House, and such of the remaining goods (except the materials of war) as can be found, restored to her by the soldiers in whose custody they are. And that Captain Kirkby and Captain Skelton are

ordered to see this result put in execution. Also, to see that Lady Airlie have 50 bolls of oats allowed to her in consideration of the eating of her corns."

The policy adopted by General Monk and his fellow-Commissioners of the Commonwealth was such as to appeal to the self-interest of the great territorialists of the country. While it was ordained that the estates of those who had taken up arms against the new régime should be confiscated, a special inducement was held out to those who should submit to the new authority. Clova was forfeited, as Sir David Ogilvy was a proved culprit. What might have happened to the Airlie estates had not the hot-blood of the family, Lord Ogilvy, been nipped in the bud and safely lodged in the Tower of London, may easily be guessed. As it was, they had to bear a heavy indemnity for his brief crusade against the masterful Oliver Cromwell. But the Earl of Airlie was far from being impulsive; he looked well in front and round about him before he acted. He was never in doubt as to the principle that should determine his action, but he was wary and circumspect in all his movements. When, therefore, at his time of life and as he was then circumstanced with Lord Ogilvy practically a hostage for his good behaviour under the Commonwealth, he was allowed to retain his lands on condition of accepting the protection of the existing authority, he was much too shrewd not to see the advantage of keeping quiet, however much he might dislike the situation. He lay low and possessed his soul in patience.

On the Restoration of Charles II., in 1660, the Earl of Airlie, in common with the great majority of the Scottish people, took occasion to rejoice. Cortachy Castle rang with the sound of gladness and festivity. Fires blazed on the hill-tops; the glens were vocal with song and laughter; the pipers played and the people danced. Like most of the nobility, too, he had substantial reason to hail the King's return, as during the reign of the Lord Protector the lords and gentry had suffered eclipse, had not only been effaced and proscribed, but heavily burdened. He had, however, a special and per-

sonal grievance that for years had been a source of trouble and anxiety to him, which the Restoration afforded the opportunity of removing. It may be remembered that he had been promoted to the earldom by Charles I. at York in 1639. From this date onward the life of the King was a perpetual sea of trouble, tossed about on the angry waves of discontent, prejudice, and passion without intermission or cessation. All this time he was constantly in conflict with the English Parliament and the Convention of Estates. In large measure the result of his obstinate disposition and unfortunately cold manner, he had not only lost the sympathy of his Councillors but had alienated the London populace to such a degree that he betook himself to the provinces, where he lived with such part of the army as he attached to his person. Such being the case, many things were overlooked which in ordinary times would have had immediate attention. The Earl of Airlie's promotion in rank was a case in point. While the conferring of the title was in form, the necessary procedure of registration and the production of the patent had been overlooked; and though the Marquis of Montrose reminded Charles of this omission eight years later, His Majesty was never in a position to have it rectified, and during the years of the Commonwealth all such honours were in abeyance. The Earl of Airlie, then, apart from his Royalistic joy at the Restoration of Charles II., had this personal reason for gratification—that it accorded him the opportunity of rectifying the mistake. He lost no time in doing so. Though close upon his seventy-fifth year, accompanied by Lord Ogilvy and a bodyguard of his clansmen, he set out immediately for London to pay his dutiful respect to the King, and to arrange his own particular business. Having received satisfaction, he again returned to Cortachy, but the prompt manner in which he despatched his own affairs made him impatient at the slow ways of Government officialdom. As the matter was urgent if he were to take his seat in Parliament, he wrote from Cortachy, on 21st February, 1661, to the Earl of Strafford, enclosing Charles's signature :

"Ples youre Lordship be informed that altho ye patent granted be King Charles ye first to the late Marquis off Montros, fyfteen yeirs agoe was nather registred nor sealed during all ye dayes of ye late King's lyfetyne, yit, nevertheless this King did presentlie give order to caus registred and sealt yat patent according to date when it was first grantit be his Majestie's father. So my signature being stoped ye register and seall for that same caus whairfor ye Marquis of Montros signature was stoped (being for his Majestie's fathers service) I am theirfor confident yat his Majestie will als<sup>1</sup> easily give order for ye registrating and sealing off my signature according to the state off it.

This will be done als sone as may be yat I may tak ye place in yis Parliament yat is dew to me befor its ryse: for altho indispositione of bodie has hitherto hindered me from his Parliament, yit now being convalescent I hop (God willing) to goe thair to doe my best service to his Majestie."

The Earl of Airlie's patience was sorely tried by the delays that occurred, and through his absence from Parliament in consequence, his honour was touched to the quick on a matter of precedence, which will be referred to presently, and which worried his mind during the few remaining years of his life. It was not till August, 1663, that Charles II. gave warrant to the Director of Chancellery

"to seal the Signator granted (by my Royal father of ever blessed memory) in favour of our Right trusty and well beloved cousin James, the Earl of Airlie, which did not pass our great seal by reason of the late unhappy troubles."

When the Scottish Parliament met on 1st January, 1661, after the Restoration, according to the laudable and ancient custom of the realm, there was a "ryding," as it was called, which, among other things, was of the nature of a general rectification of the order of precedence of the nobility. After nine years of the Commonwealth and Protectorate there was perhaps some need for a general overhaul of methods of procedure and the conduct of business. Whatever was found to be necessary was speedily adopted. Of the many Acts of

<sup>1</sup> As.

this Parliament—some of which were of great consequence to the nation, while some of them were disastrous in their effect upon the country—the one which immediately concerned the Earl of Airlie was that which related to the matter of precedence. The Earl of Findlater, it may be recalled, was a cadet of the House of Airlie, being descended from Walter, third son of Walter Ogilvy, the ancestor of the Airlie family, by his second marriage with Isobel Glen, daughter of Sir John Glen of Inchmartin. The result of the “ryding” was that the name of the Earl of Findlater, on what ground is not stated, was given precedence on the list of nobility to that of the Earl of Airlie. The Earl of Haddington, to whom had been given the following mandate—

“to compeir and vote for ye Earl of Airlie in ye Parliament holdin at Edinborough ye twelf day off December in ye year of God 1660 yeiris indicted by King Charles ye Second ”

—protested at the time, but without effect. It may be that the preference was the result of old party feeling—an echo of the Civil War, as the Earl of Airlie broadly hinted in his petition to the King, and “to his Majestie’s Secretari ye Earl of Lauderdale,” in which he mentions the loyalty of his family to the Sovereign, and

“speciallic the two Ambassages whairin ye Lord Ogilvy was employed to goe Embassadors to Denmark whair of ye first wes be King James ye first in ye yeir 1492, at which time James, Lord Ogilvy off Airly wes then send to ane embassy to Denmark. Ye second employment was in ye yeir 1586 at which tyme James Lord Ogilvy, grandfather to James now Earl of Airly, Lord Ogilvy wes send Embassador to Denmark to assist ye Coronateone of Cristianus ye fourt King of Denmark, his Majestie’s granduncle. . . . Ye Lairds and Earls of Findlater has never done to ye Croune any publict or memorabil service and to shew ye King what wes ye unloyall behavioure off James, Earl of Findlater in ye late troubles aganst ye late Marquis of Montros, and how Findlater opposed his Majestie’s service, he being cousin German wt ye late Marquis off Argyll and accessorie to hes doings.”

The Earl of Airlie, who had a similar complaint in the Parliament of 1643 (in this instance it was the Earl of Lindsay, against whose “ranking, voicing, and calling

before him," he protested), was now launched on the demand for his rights, and prosecuted his purpose with that solemn determination which was so characteristic of him. The order of precedence of an earlier date which had been signed by Charles I., placed the Earl of Airlie after Lord Lanark, but before the Earls of Carnwath, Leven, and Deskford. But as far as Lord Deskford was concerned, the case between him and the Earl of Airlie, apart from pride of place, had now become somewhat complicated, so that it may be as well to state the facts. Charles I. by a Patent, dated 20th February, 1638, created James, Lord Deskford, Earl of Findlater, with limitation to "his heirs-male of the body succeeding to him in his estates." As it was, he had no male issue; but his eldest daughter and heiress, Elizabeth Ogilvy, was married to Sir Patrick Ogilvy, younger, of Inchmartin, upon whom and "his heirs-male" the same King, by a second Patent, dated 18th October, 1641, "did grant and confer, the aforesaid honour, title, dignitie, and precedence, sufferage, and voice in Parliament," such as was held by the original grantee, "in the event of the Earl of Findlater not having aires of his owne body." In the interval Sir Patrick Ogilvy then took as heir of adoption the title of Lord Deskford and Inchmartin during the life-time of his father-in-law. This proceeding naturally offended several peers, including the Earl of Airlie, who had been created Earls between the dates of the two Patents. Lord Airlie, having a special grievance on seeing a cadet of his own House taking rank before him, immediately protested to His Majesty on this injustice to himself and his family; whereupon Charles I., "being ripely advised" and considering that Sir Patrick Ogilvy was not the heir in the terms of the first Patent, owing to which the honour it carried "could not in equitie and reason continew and endure in his person as this would be derogatory to the places of others Peers," by a declaration, dated 29th November, 1643, restricted his right and that of his heirs to the date of the Patent in 1641, by which alone they were to rank and take precedence; His Majesty at

the same time ratifying the precedence of the Earl of Airlie so far as prejudiced him :

“ Who besides that he is an ancient Nobleman, is also Chief of the Family and Surname of the Ogilvys, and of his family the said Earl of Findlater is descended ; therefore the said Sir Patrick Ogilvy is to take place and rank according to the date of the Patent in his own favour dated 18th October 1641 and no otherways.”

As far as the matter of precedence over the Earl of Findlater was concerned, Charles I. was “ ripely advised,” and performed an act of justice to the Earl of Airlie ; but in doing so he overstepped the limit of fact, and thereby did an injustice in another direction, when he declared that he was “ the Chief of the Family and Surname of the Ogilvys.” This point will come up for discussion at a later period, but meanwhile it may be admitted that at this particular time the Ogilvys of Airlie were only a branch of “ the Family and Surname of the Ogilvys,” as the Ogilvys of that ilk, the original stock, or Powrie Ogilvys, had still their representative in the person of Sir Thomas Ogilvy of Ogilvy—the head of the family and chief of the name. But on the immediate question of precedence over the Earl of Findlater, while the matter had been duly rectified by Charles I. in 1643, the Earl of Airlie now discovered that the signature had not passed the Great Seal, and in this respect was ineffectual. What he now aimed at was to have the signature of 1643 confirmed by Charles II. In a letter to Lord Ogilvy, who was then in London as Captain of the King’s Life Guards, dated at Cortachy 25th January, 1664, he wrote instructing him to get the King

“ to subscribe our signator of precedence befor ye Earle of Findlater, and I entreate yow doe not neglect to doe this business as ye respect youre owen honor and the honor of this familie.”

Again, on 4th June following, knowing the careless habits of his son, even on a matter that bore on “ the honor of this familie,” he wrote :

“Seeing I am informed yat ye Earle of Glencairn is dead ye will neid to have a care that our signator of precedence befor Findlater be directed to Glencairn, use diligence yat itt be wriitten over agen speedalie and send to Scotland, for iff ye King goe to progres itt will neid delay that will be harmfull to ws.”

Notwithstanding prolonged pressure and insistence, it was not until 28th June, 1665, that Charles II. passed “a ratification and confirmation” in the following terms :

“Our said Soverayne Lord being well informed, and finding it just what his said late Royall father did declare and ~~claim~~ in the signature and declaratione above written, and knowing also that ye samen signature, be reason of the late unhappy troubles, did not pass the Great Seall, and his Majestie being maist willing that his said umquhile Royall father, his will and intention thereanent be fulfilled ; therefore, oure said Soverane Lord doeth not onlie by thir presentis ratife, and approve, the foirsaide signature, and declaratione, of the date, tenor, and contents above written, in the haille heads, articles, etc. ; but also of new declares, and advises, that the said dignitie, and title of honour, granted to the said umquhile Sir Patrick Ogilvy, and his foirsaidis, shall be restricted, limited, and regulate be them to the date of the said Patent at Halyrudehouse the 18th October 1641.”

Although he gained his point, asserted and claimed, and secured his rights, he was never privileged to sit in the Parliament of Charles II. He had become sorely crippled with rheumatism. In March, 1661, he had a serious illness, and his life was despaired of, as may be gathered from the following letter written by Sir David Ogilvy to Lord Ogilvy, dated Edinburgh, 22nd March, 1661, in which he tells him that his parents wish him home, and

“iff ye cum not presentlie downe ye will not sie youre father on earth and all youre business will miscarrie. This I thoct gud to acquent ye with.”

The Earl of Airlie, however, recovered from this serious distemper. Physically strong, by his temperate and methodical habits, the care and discipline of himself, and the regularity of all his movements, he had

husbanded his strength against just such an attack as he had experienced. He survived, but the seizure left him infirm, while the rheumatic gout increased in virulence so that he was incapacitated for travelling any distance. He lived quietly at Cortachy, attending to the administration of the estates. At this period his correspondence was voluminous on a great variety of topics and with a large number of his friends who sent him the news of the day and asked his advice. To his own affairs he was assiduously attentive, and tried hard to receive compensation for the penalties inflicted on his estates during the Commonwealth. In a letter to Lord Ogilvy, then in London, regarding these burdens and the pensions which Charles II. had promised him, he wrote :

"I think iff ye be weill acquentit wit ye Duke off Yorke and wt. ye General (now Erle off Albemarle) and wt. youre uther freinds, sick as ye Secretare Lauderdill, Dumfermling, and youre Englishe freinds, thay could doe you much forderance."

He had petitioned Charles I., in 1640, requesting that he should be compensated for the damage caused by the devastation of his lands and the burning of his castles. It was only now, twenty-two years after, that the matter was taken up; and writing to his grandson, the Master of Ogilvy, that "his action for the losses sustained through ye late Marquis of Argyll is now come to be proven be witnesses," he directs him "to tak John McNicoll and anie uther man who can be witness to ye burning and plundering of Forther," and, "to get John Philip in Airlie to witness there." Smaller matters came under his supervision, and he instructed that Lord Ogilvy's Falconer at Cortachy, James Falconer, "being presently verie ill apperrelled sould gett a stand off clothes, and shanks, and showes." Some freebooters had made a descent on his property, which irritated him, and the Countess of Airlie, writing to the Master of Ogilvy, on his behalf, said :

"I will intret you to be at ye penis to cum heir to Cortachie ye morn, Thursday, becaus sum will clan : hiland do this in this tyme of ye yeir. I disayr you to cum in laland cloathes."

To his daughter-in-law, Lady Helen Ogilvy, he was greatly attached. She had been in poor health for a time, and being anxious about her, the Earl of Airlie wrote, remarking on the symptoms of her illness, to the King's Physician in London, and under date 25th February, 1664, he sent to her at Balloch House "a recipe direct to you writtin be Doctor Frazer, ye King's Chief doctor."

Notwithstanding the weight of his years and infirmity, he had a keen eye for business. On the death of the Laird of Aboyne, leaving his son, Walter Ogilvy, a minor, the Earl of Airlie secured the wardship of which he was in possession at the time of his death. And the following letter shows how alert he was in the interest of his son, Lord Ogilvy, to whom he wrote on 18th March, 1661 :

"Itt is reported yat ye Countess of Buccleuch is so deidly seik yat shoe is given over be all the phisicians, and shoe deing, hir sister will succeed to hir, who is a minor. I hop you will be diligent and secret and get a gift of the Ward and Marriage, iff the Countess dies."

By 1663 the Earl of Airlie's letters frequently refer to "my impaired health," "my seikness," "my infirmity," "my old age." In one of these addressed to Lord Ogilvy, 2nd April, 1664, he requests that he should arrange either with the Lords of Session or with the Earl of Rothes, the Treasurer—

"to appoyne auditors to heir ye compts of my intromissions with ye Ward Lands of the Thanedom of Boyne at my awn hous of Cortaquhy, becaus I can not goe any ways abroad for my age and infirmitie, I being thriescor eighteen yeris."

The tall, robust, and stately Earl of Airlie, resolute, determined, full of purpose, unwavering in loyalty to his ideal, in some things obstinate, yet broad-minded, humane, and considerate, went down into "the valley of the shadow" by a slow and lingering travail; so strong of constitution that for months the battle between life and death was waged. But the end came on the 21st February, 1666, when he died, at Cortachy Castle,

on the stroke of midnight, in the eightieth year of his age. Lord Ogilvy, writing to a friend apologising for the delay in answering his communication, said that he had not written "for my father's seikness (who dayed last night) forced me to pairt so brisklie from Edumburg." For nearly a fortnight the body lay in state, during which time all the people of the glens, according to the custom of the period, "viewed the corpse." In a letter dated, Perth, last of February, 1666, P. Thriep-land, writing to Lord Ogilvy, states :

"I shall send on express to youre Lordship on the Saturday befor the buriall with the Mortcloth which I know will give your Lordship good content. For the usse of itt, youre Lordship may give what ye pleas. Ten or twelve dollars."

On an early day in March, when the buds were swelling into life, and the birds were breaking forth into their chorus of spring, and all Nature pulsating with fresh and buoyant vigour was ready, at the sun's first kindly welcome, to open out into that luscious effusion of growth and bloom, after the manner in which God had fashioned it—the Earl of Airlie, of whom Charles II. wrote that his "deeds of loyalty would go down to future ages," was quietly laid to rest in the place of the dead.

The following, titled "A Short Prayer," was found among his papers after he was gone :

"The Lord's name be praised, His Church preserved. The King, Queen and all the Royal progenie protected. Our lives amended, and our souls saved in the day of our Lord. Amen."

Isabella, Countess of Airlie, who will make frequent characteristic and on occasion dramatic appearances in the history of the second Earl of Airlie and of his son, Lord Ogilvy, survived her husband by sixteen years. The temper of her mind, her robust character and resolute purpose, her courage and determination, her high spirit and the imperious manner in which she ruled her household and family, while already to a certain extent exhibited in the slight portrayal of her character, are yet to be more fully disclosed by many striking incidents

in which she played a conspicuous part. These in due course will be described, and from them will be discovered the resourceful qualities and bold enterprise of the Countess of Airlie. But, meanwhile, it may be as well at this juncture, in order to complete the generation to which she belonged, to record the few remaining facts relative to her widowhood.

In October, 1668, a few months before the second marriage of her illustrious son, on whose eventful career we are about to embark, Lady Airlie, much to her regret and with just a touch of bad grace, removed to Balloch House, near Alyth, which she held in conjunct fee, and which, with the exception of "Lord Airlie's lodging" in Strathbogie, was then the only available residence for the Dowager. Besides being a "Manor place," it enjoyed the dignity of being a "tower" in the old days; a stronghold of the Lindsays lying at the foothills of the Grampians, guarding the approach to Glenisla from the south. There she lived in the happy companionship of her granddaughter, Christian Ogilvy, whom she had the satisfaction of seeing comfortably settled in marriage to her near neighbour at Bamff, Sir James Ramsay; and from there, on the western boundary of the Airlie estates, she continued to survey in right perspective all the movements and actions of her family and their subordinates. Gifted with a vigorous mind, she possessed a piquant temper, and reduced to a fine art the use of pungent phrases which, as they were intended, never failed to convey her meaning and purpose. Although her sons were well into middle life, this did not save them from her motherly castigation when she was in the mood to administer correction, and to the last she kept a firm grip of the reins. She was, indeed, a worthy relict, as she had proved to be a capable help-mate, of her great and noble husband. Like him, too, she was strongly attached to Episcopal orders, and, being of a devout and reverent mind, was a regular worshipper in the Parish Church of Alyth, whose Kirk-Session records disclose her regard for, and willing conformity to, the custom of the period. It was then the

law as it was the universal practice that the minister should pastorally visit the parish once a year, holding a religious service in every house, and catechising the members of each family on their knowledge of the Scriptures and the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith. In addition to this, the Church authorities required on special occasions, such as the administration of Holy Communion, that a course of catechetical instruction should be given in church to intending communicants. The Countess of Airlie, in response to an intimation on the first Sunday of March, 1670, that "the course of examination was to begin . . . next Sabt after preatching," submitted herself to be catechised on Sunday, 17th April following, as may be gathered from the Kirk-Session minute: "No session this day becaws my lady Airlie was waiting upon the examination to be after sermons." This picture of the high-spirited Dowager-Countess meekly submitting herself for examination on the heads of Christian doctrine is at once a tribute to the impartiality of Church discipline, and to the strict regard of all classes for ecclesiastical authority.

Of vigorous constitution, the Countess of Airlie, who had lived an active life, and, as will be seen, played a courageous part through strenuous times and days of great anxiety, was at length seized by a paralytic affection which arrested her activities. On 30th March, 1679, the first distant note of death's summons was heard, on which day it is recorded in the Kirk-Session records of Alyth: "No session becaws our minister was send for to visit at my Lady Airly who was extreame sick." She, however, recovered her former power and was able to resume her domestic duties with her customary alertness; but three years later the end came. She died at Balloch House on 30th April, 1682, at the age of eighty-six. The day was Sunday, and the minute of Kirk-Session bears record that there was "no preatching afternoon becaws the minister is send for to see and visit my lady Airlie Like to die."



## APPENDIX I

THE following letters discovered in the Scots College, Paris, by Dr. Kyle, Catholic Bishop of Aberdeen, were addressed in cipher by Lord Ogilvy to James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, who at the time was Mary, Queen of Scots', Ambassador in France. Bishop Kyle deciphered them. The originals are now at Blair's College. The most singular circumstance detailed in them is the interview with the Regent, Earl of Morton, as referred to in the text. On the back of the first letter there is written: "Letter of my Lord Ogilvy send with David Balfour and resavit ye 15th of Apryll 1577."

### LETTER I.

"I wrait to youre Lordship in                   ?                   with T. Fisher sic discours as I culd lerne for that tyme, quha promisit to me that gif he cum not himselfe with thay letteres he suld cause yame be securelie delyverit to youre Lordship and as yit I know not gif thay be cum to youre handis or not. My estait hes yit continuit efter ye samin sort as I wrait to you, excep onlie bi ye solisitatioun of monie nobilmen being at ye mariag and banket in Glasgo of my Lord R——<sup>1</sup> his dochter with ye maister of Eglintoun, I gat my ward transportit furth of Glasgo neirer to my lands to Sainct Andrews quhair as yit I remane; and in my cuming furth of Glasgo cam bi Edinborough quhair as yit I spak with my Lord Regent; and bi his langage he apperit to be in youre Lordships guid will and favour lyk als<sup>2</sup> he hes shawin to youre umquhyl<sup>3</sup> cusing, Maister Stevin, to whom he had comittit sum credit to hev been reportit to youre Lordship gif God had permittit him days to have spoken to you and continuis als yit in ye samin als apperis to me. He spak verie reverentlie and with gryt honour of ye Quien, protesting before his God he wold not do her evil nor consent thereto for all ye geir in ye warld; and gif ye King his Maister inlaikit,<sup>4</sup> as God forbid he wold, be all moyens seik to haif of hir successioun to occupy hir roome, and wold rather serve hir and hir race nor anie of ye warld as God was his juge. And furder, quhaysuer columniat him yat he had maid promis of ye King, hir son, to England, he tuik on his conscience yat he was als<sup>5</sup> free of anie promis towards

<sup>1</sup> Rothes.

<sup>2</sup> As.

<sup>3</sup> Deceased.

<sup>4</sup> Died prematurely.

<sup>5</sup> As.

ye Quien of England on that behaf als onie man yat was in ye Quien's factioun, or on yat syde, als tyme suld gif experience. I did reply unto him quhilk was ower long to trubil youre Lordship with, but his conclusioun in general was, as apperit to me, that gif he was suir yat ye Quien wold forgait and put in oblivion thingis past as alsua to beir him guid wil, yat he wold doe all thingis yat lay unto him for restoring of ye Quien's Majestie to hir former estait and honour. And said further, he wold be abil to delyver hir ye maist pairt of hir jewellis; and quhair anie wantit, to schaw in quhais handis thay war. And efter I cam heir to Sanct Andrews, Sir James Balfour cam to me quha assurillie apperis to beir ye Quien's Majestie as guid wil as ever he did, and he hes gryt credit at ye Regent's handis, he did assure me al yis yat ye Regent spak to me to be all trow, and reportit ye samin in effect and meikle mair; and how yat he had wreitin and causit wryt yis samin to youre Lordship, regratand hevillie yat nae answer cam agane.

I rasonit hardlie with Sir James, sayand how culd yat be proposit to ye Quien's Majestie or to youre Lordship in respect ye Regent had so gryt moyen with England and wold nocht spak thame of; quha answerit yat ye Regent and he had been in hand with yat afore, sayand that yat was the hieway to his destructioun, he not being assurit of ye Quien's guid wil nor yit of a quhilk gin he war either be hir owin letter or youris in hir name send to me or onie uther hir guid frendis heir,—that yat suld not be lang to doe and wold be content with guid wil to leif under hir Majestie and hir son onlie Erle of Morton in his owin rank and to cleith him with . . . and to gif hir and thame perfyt pruif of his services. Sir James thinks that gif sic ane mater micht be brocht about without trubil in yis cuntray, it war the grytest honour and weil that evir youre Lordship or onie uther Scottisman did in our days. I assur youre Lordship yat Sir James is yit extremlie hatit be all theis yat war againis the Quien excep the Regent onlie, and in my opinion he hes guid resoun to be als he doe to further hir cause; for he hes nae assurance not bi hir and I belief youre Lordship may credit him in yis mater. Gif this be trewlie menit als it is spokin, youre Lordship hes sum guid mater to wark on bi yis and bi ye uther letter send to you with Thom Fisher, quharin I did mention sum thingis of theirs about ye King, sic as Argyll and utheris, bi ye quhilk two letteris ye may easilie see the estait of the cuntray. This is ane mater yat wold be wyselie lukit upon as I dout not but youre Lordship wil and, to tak the best of yir twa, thair is ane gryt contradictioun betwixt ye first letter and yis heir. This offring requiris, savand youre wyse jugement, ane guid answer, alwais, howsumever, youre Lordship wil yat I use we or with

quhom ye think I sal deil I sal go forward with itt. I am gryttlie pressit for ane answer at youre Lordship's hand, for thay belief yat I have that credit with youre Lordship I wold request you, gif ye think it guid that ye suld send sum guid letter to be schawin to ye Regent, or to Sir James Balfour and ane uther to myself how ye wil me to wirk and I sall execut ye samin with als guid hert, bi God's grace, als youre Lordship wil advyse me to doe.

I have been verie evil handlit<sup>1</sup> and yit nae beter als ye<sup>2</sup> can schaw. Gif I may wirk to bryng about hir service and forderance I cair not. I assuir youre Lordship efter ye returning of youre guid answer baith the Quien, kingdom, and youre Lordship wil be socht be all moyane and sum frend send to youre Lordship to that ——. <sup>3</sup> Assuredlie I wryt naething but yat I am earnestlie desyrit to doe. For als youre Lordship has had ane guid opinion of me sae sall I merit sae far als sal be unto me to let you know al thingis yat I may lerne, not onlie yat bot to hazard my lyf and al that may follow thereon to gif you perfytt experience of the guid wil I have to do youre Lordship's service and to change sae lang als I lief als onie further occasion seems youre Lordship sall be advertisit."

## LETTER II.

"I have ressavit youre letter of ye last<sup>4</sup> of 12 quharin ye find you evil informit from heir and speciallie sen I cam out of ward,<sup>5</sup> ye quhilk indeid is trew, bot yit ye falt wes not altogader in me. For — and youre man Bruis promist to me to mak you informit frae tyme to tyme als matteris fel furthe. Bot youre Lordship sal not fynd sic wycht me in tyme cuming, God wiling.

I trust Athol sal send sum man to you wycht his full intencion, he thinkis to be doing be youre adwyse wycht yis officit kingdom and hes naething les in mynd nor yat thing youre Lordship thinkis, yat theis heir suld esteim of youre Lordship's inhobilatee and capassatie quhilk assuritie thay esteim mair worthie nor anie heir yat can traffyk wyth youre Lordship and wil depend on youre wysdoun and counsel be onie man lifand tinching our Quien's weil and kingdom. Als consarning ye rest yat followis in youre letter tinching ye protestatioun youre Lordship makis, als I lief youre lyf and honour quhilk is als deir to me als my owin, I wor not worthie to lief in respec of

<sup>1</sup> The tyranny of Lennox.

<sup>2</sup> Probably others of the Queen's faction.

<sup>3</sup> Not made out.

<sup>4</sup> 31st December.

<sup>5</sup> Prison.

sae guid caus als I and myne hes resavit of you, yat I culd not be advertiser of yat quhilk folowit in youre letter. Your Lordship may weil be assurit nevir word nor deid sal cum throw me to youre hurt. Immediatlie effteir resseit of youre letter I passit to ye Erle of Athol quha incontinent send to ye Erle of Argyl to attend. Argyl knowis not yis to proceid from youre Lordship bot onlie of Athol quha lykewyse fund it not guid yat I suld communicat it to — in respect of his residence yat he makis at Striveling.<sup>1</sup> Athol findis ye man yat is cuming verie guid and his opinion is yat he wold avyse him openlie to declair befor ye King and Cunsel his commissioun and deil privatlie with sic — als he hes to do wythal. For he hes ane fare grund to desyr ye separatioun of youre peure of ye peis betwin ye twa cuntrayis. Yer wil be ane man got in yat hes beith ye Latin and French for yat use. Now als to ye estait of yis cuntray yer hes nae alteratioun hapint sev our beying at ye Falkirk and I dout not bot ye have herd of ye meiting yat hes bein sen syn at ye Kirk of Inveresk and at Leith. I wes chosin to haif bein ane of ye ressonaris of yat mater, bot I had sic order yat I nicht not be at itt, als alsua for sic uther causes als I wil lat youre Lordship know I wes ane Communar at our agreeance in Striveling and did send youre Lordship ye hedis of our capitulatioun either by Bruis or Schaw. Theis about ye King dois al thay can to wrak us indirectlie yat was at Falkirk; for thay haif gifen Coldenknowis<sup>2</sup> offyce of wardering to ye Laird of Wedderburn, lykwyse ye office of Wardenrie, and I feir in schort tyme zeeing Sessfurd<sup>3</sup> sal pas be ye —. Yer is nevir action now yat comes befor ye wuilt<sup>4</sup> of Striveling bot it is tein awa be ye pluralitie of votis how Godlie or resonabill yat ever it be. Ye Borders be Morton's moien is heil brokin, also ye Hilandis, to ye effec he may be callit ane guid Governor in his tyme, and yit ye see yat hes doin ye samin wes in his keiping quhair he demittit ye autoritie and sen syne he hes letin<sup>5</sup> yaim gang fre to trubil ye cuntray.

Yer was ane privie moien made latlie to haif tain ye toun of Edinburth be slycht<sup>6</sup> and yen to haif commandit ye Castil quhilk wes esalie doin and yerefteir to haif retirrit ye King to Edinburth. Bot yis enterprys was discoverit and sen syne thay haif mand ye Steepil and hes four hundreth men in wach nichtlie. I trust ye haif hard ye Bishop of Ketness<sup>7</sup> wes maid Erle of Lennox for twa causis—ane yat Mausur de Aubenye<sup>8</sup> suld not

<sup>1</sup> Stirling.<sup>2</sup> The Laird of Coldingknows.<sup>3</sup> The Laird of Cessford.<sup>4</sup> Committee of Estates.<sup>5</sup> Permitted.<sup>6</sup> Stratagem.<sup>7</sup> Caithness.<sup>8</sup> Esme Stewart, Lord D'Aubigny.

cum in Scotland to seik ye rycht of ye haus of Lennox; ye uther bein Erle of Lennox and ye King's unkil suld mak him agains us. Athol hes mareyit ane dochter of his on him yat he may proffeit yaim nothing. Ye estait of yis cuntray stands in ane meruclus evil race. God for hes morsy help itt. I mynd to reter my sonne James<sup>1</sup> heim shortlie gyf it be youre Lordship's plesur. Ye causis quhy, I wil not trubil youre Lordship now, bot sal caus David Balfour declair to you ye hail circumstances of al at lynth. Sae eftair my hummil commendatiouns of service to your Lordship I comitt youre Lordship maist hartlie to Godis protectioun at Boleschin ye 26 day of 2."<sup>2</sup>

## LETTER III.

"I resavit youris ye twalt of 4<sup>3</sup> as lykwayis ye Quien's alphabit to me and ane letter to be gifen to ye King. I delyverit ye samin immediatlie eftair ye resait yairof within his cobinet, nane present bot my Lord of Lennox<sup>4</sup> quha behuivit to know yairof. Ye King lykit verie weil of ye 81 and findis it trew by experience in manie pintis till haif bein practisit heir gif God had not discoverit and stoppit yair ungodlie mening lyk als I dout not bot youre Lordship hes pairtlye hard or now.<sup>5</sup> Specialie be ye detentioun of Morton quha I belief sal shortlie get his conding recompense<sup>6</sup> as lykwayis ye eschewing of Maister Archibald Douglas quha remanis presentlie in Berwick. Gif I suld entir in discours upon ye craftis yat Randal<sup>7</sup> hes usit in yis kingdom as in suting Morton's libertie and to disgrace my Lord of Lennox bi counterfeitit letteris as wreitin bi you and ye Bishop of Ross to sum Cardinallis of Rome, as lykwayis from yame to you and yat he my Lord of Lennox intelligence with you and yame wes haillie til subvert ye religione bi ye quhilkis he culd not find ane moyen sae proper till move ye hail Kirk and Ministeris agens him als be yat ye quhilk aspirandlie had succedit to Randals mening gif God had not preventit itt be ye taking of Whittingham<sup>8</sup> and George Affleck, quha planlie hes schawin yat sic letteris and inventiouns war maid in Berwick be Maister Archibald Douglas,<sup>9</sup> Bowes,<sup>10</sup> and utheris, and send in heir to Randal, it was langsum.

<sup>1</sup> Lord Ogilvy's son, then in France.

<sup>2</sup> February.

<sup>3</sup> 12th April.

<sup>4</sup> Esme Stewart.

<sup>5</sup> Before.

<sup>6</sup> Morton was in custody, charged with the murder of Darnley.

<sup>7</sup> The English resident at Berwick—a notorious intriguer. This charge of forging letters to destroy the credit of Lennox is new, but it may be true.

<sup>8</sup> The Laird of Whittingham, a brother of Archibald Douglas.

<sup>9</sup> A cousin of Morton.

<sup>10</sup> Sir George Bowes.

The murthour of ye Kingis father is abil to be tryit schortlie, als lykwys ye poisoning of ye Erle of Athol.<sup>1</sup> Als to ye taking of ye Kingis self it is plane yat he suld haif bein delyverit in England with ye circumstances yairof. God has bein verie favorabil til him and til us yat dependis trewlie upon him. Ye King is raither inclynit to France nor to Spain for anie argumentis consavit ether in ye letter or yat I culd gif him. Quairfor thay suld in my opeenion meit it, gif his neid requyre quhilk aperis to be gryt, bot God willing his sal be preservit from thame; albeit, yay may weil overhorle ane pairt of his kingdom.

I gif you maist humbil thankis, yat amangis monie uther guid benefits, hes movit ye Quien til tak sae guid opeenion of me als to gif me sae gryt credit betwix hir and hir son. I sal diseern sae far als sic ane puir man of my estait may in treuth and honestie als his Majestie and youre Lordship sal know be experience. Ye King has als gryt lyking of his mother als onie son can haif, and ane verie guid lyking of youre Lordship. Alsua, I haif brunt<sup>2</sup> als ye comandit ye chiper letter and al afore ye Berar. I wil beseik youre Lordship sal haif honor to cumand me to my lyfis end. It wil pleis you to caus convoy yis uthair ticket<sup>3</sup> to ye Quien's Majestie, quhilk is bot schort in respec yat I haif wreitin to youre Lordship at Edinburth ye saxtienth of Apryll 1581.

Your Lordship's maist obedient

D'OIGILVY."

<sup>1</sup> It was intended to charge Morton with this crime.

<sup>2</sup> A letter forwarded by Beaton from Mary.

<sup>3</sup> A letter to be forwarded by Beaton to Mary.







